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THE UNVEILED EAST

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Chinese photograph.

VICEROY YUAN SHIH-KAI REVIEWING HIS TROOPS AT PAOTINGFU, NORTH CHINA.

THE UNVEILED EAST

BY

F. A. McKENZIE

AUTHOR OF "FROM TOKYO TO TIFLIS"

WITH 29 ILLUSTRATIONS
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CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	THE PURPOSE OF NEW JAPAN	1
II.	THE FIGHT FOR THE PACIFIC	17
III.	HOW JAPAN CAME TO KOREA	31
IV.	THE PASSING OF EMPIRE	43
V.	THE DREAM OF THE MARQUIS ITO	59
VI.	MANCHURIA AFTER THE WAR	75
VII.	JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS AND CHINESE ROBBERS	91
VIII.	FROM PORT ARTHUR TO HARBIN	99
IX.	JAPAN'S COMMERCIAL CAMPAIGN	119
X.	MONOPOLY AT WORK	131
XI.	THE JAPANESE COTTON TRADE	141
XII.	THE OPEN DOOR	151
XIII.	THE PROBLEM OF THE EMIGRANT	163

CHAP.		PAGE
XIV.	NEW CHINA	179
XV.	VICEROY YUAN—REFORMER	193
XVI.	THE NEW CHINESE ARMY	209
XVII.	THE OLD ORDER PASSETH	233
XVIII.	THE NEW WOMAN	243
XIX.	A FIGHT FOR NATIONAL EXISTENCE	257
XX.	CHINA AND FOREIGN TRADE	271
XXI.	THE GREAT MISSIONARY QUESTION	285
XXII.	JAPAN AND CHRISTIANITY	305
XXIII.	ENGLAND'S OPPORTUNITY	315

APPENDIX

THE KOREAN CASE AGAINST JAPAN

I.	MEMORIAL FROM THE KOREAN FOREIGN OFFICE TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT	325
II.	THE OPEN LETTER OF CHOI IK HYON	332
	INDEX	343

ILLUSTRATIONS

Viceroy Yuan Shih-kai reviewing his Troops at Paotingfu, North China . . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

Japanese Shipbuilding. H.I.M.'s Torpedo Boat Destroyer, *Asakaze*, built and engined at the Kawasaki Dockyards, Kobe 19

(On its official trial trip, December 22, 1905, it travelled over the measured mile at a speed of 29·67 knots.)

Entrance to the Old Palace of the Korean Emperor, Seoul . 36

Fusan, Korea. 36

Torture in Korea during the Japanese Administration. A Scene in a Prison Cell, Sun-chon, July, 1906. 66

Torture in Korea during the Japanese Administration. Prisoner in Courtyard, Sun-chon, July, 1906 72

The Antung-Moukden Railway 78

" " " 78

View on the Antung-Moukden Railway, showing Japanese Military Blockhouse 84

Chinese Prisoner and Japanese Jailor, Changfu, Manchuria, September, 1906 95

The Author's Cossack Guard when travelling through Russian Manchuria 116

The Distribution of Japanese Cotton Goods along the Railway in Manchuria 150

A Slum in Tokyo 166

The Summit of 203 Metre Hill, showing Crosses erected over Graves of Fallen Russian Soldiers 166

Viceroy Yuan Shih-kai and his Staff 196

How Loafers are taught Industry in China. A Corner of Viceroy Yuan's Model Prison, Tientsin 202

FACING PAGE

A Room in Viceroy Yuan's Industrial School, Tientsin . . 206
Chinese Artillery. Army of Chih-li, Paotingfu 211
„ Cavalry „ „ „ 217
Group of Staff Officers at Paotingfu, China 224
Chinese Artillery. Army of Chih-li, Paotingfu 226
Chinese Military Athletics. Army of Chih-li, Paotingfu . . 230
Corner of Exterior Wall, British Legation, Peking, where the Brunt of the Boxer Attack was met in 1900. . . . 236
Marconi Mast inside the Italian Legation Grounds, Peking . 242
Gate of a Foreign Legation at Peking, 1906 242
Blackboard in a Chinese School at Tientsin, showing how Chinese Teachers instruct Native Pupils in English . 260
Barrack-room for Military Cadets at Paotingfu, China . . 260
Chinese Railway Station, Peking-Hankow Railway . . 274
Shinto Priests, officially attached to the Japanese Army. . 308

MAPS

The Japanese Empire, 1894 4
„ „ „ 1907 5
A Railway Map of China 245

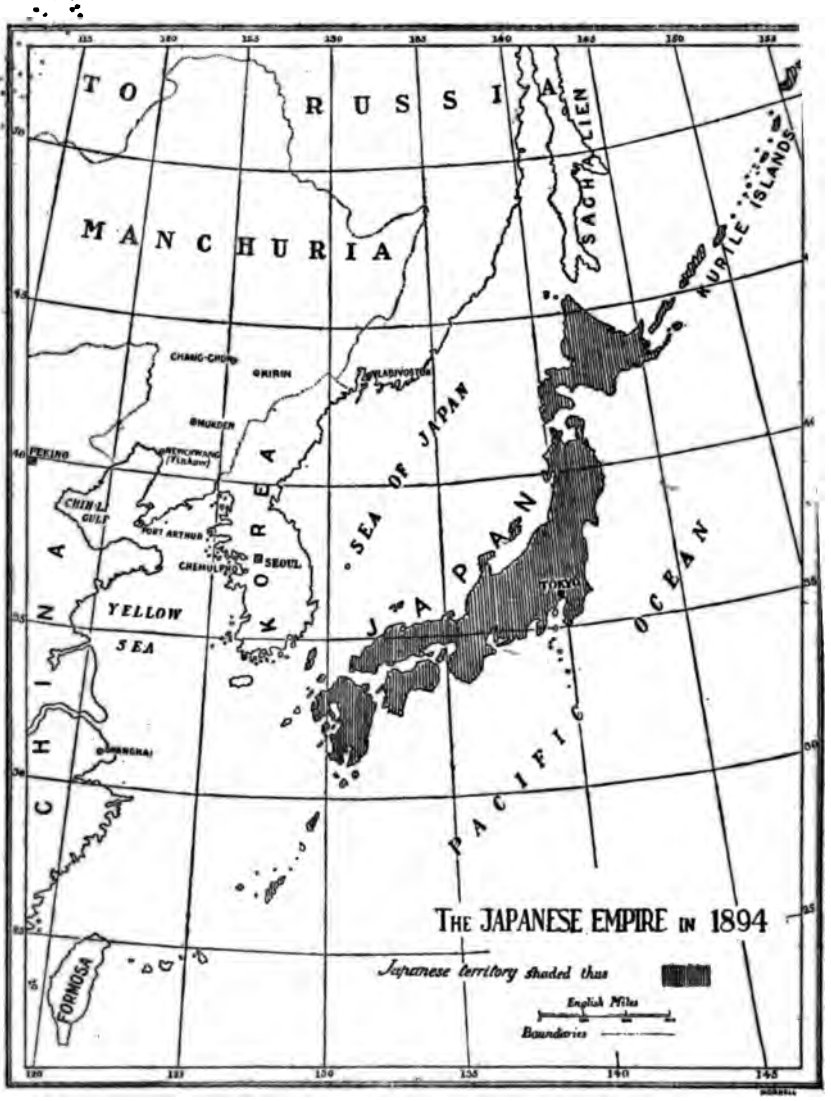
CHAPTER 1

THE PURPOSE OF NEW JAPAN

CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE OF NEW JAPAN

SINCE the conclusion of the Treaty of Portsmouth in August, 1905, the world has seen a gradual unveiling of the policy of New Japan. By the extension and maintenance of territorial supremacy outside her own borders, by securing exclusive trading privileges, by a wholesale system of monopolies, subsidies, bounties, and concessions, and by the skilful use of her limited tariff autonomy, Japan has entered fully upon a campaign of aggressive imperialism. She is acquiring, by conquest and by construction, the ownership of a vast system of railways on the mainland of Asia; her mercantile marine, working under Government direction and largely with Government funds, has for a year waged open and merciless war upon British and German shipping lines for the Pacific coasting trade. Entering Korea under the guise of friendship and alliance, her representatives have absorbed the Government, made the Emperor virtually a prisoner, forced the British chief of the Customs Service from office, acquired many concessions, and seized the lands and homes of the common people in towns and country. In Manchuria a policy of colonisation and national assertion has been adopted which, if not checked, will inevitably bring that province under the rule of Tokyo. The Japanese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PORT ARTHUR
CHEMULPO
SEOUL
KOREA
SEA OF JAPAN
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THE JAPANESE EMPIRE IN 1894
Japanese territory shaded thus
English Miles
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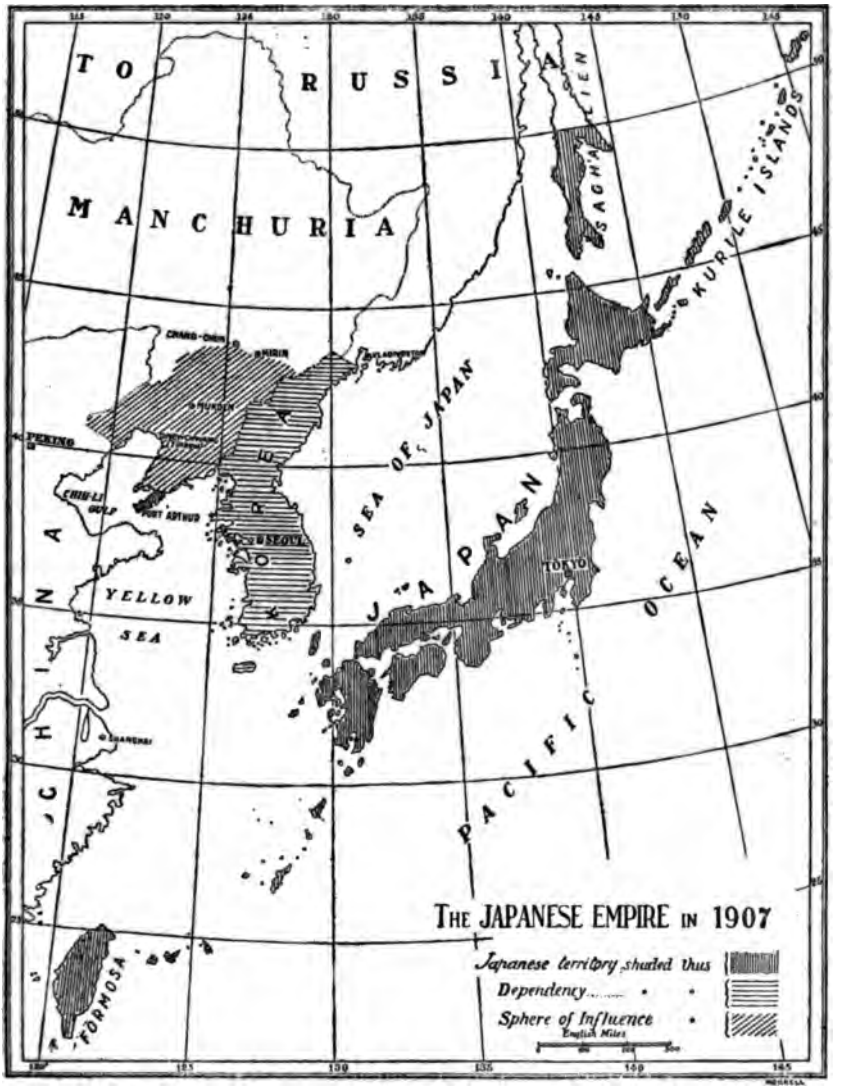
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SEOUL
SEA OF JAPAN
JAPAN
TOKYO
YELLOW SEA
CHINA
SHANGHAI
PACIFIC OCEAN
FORMOSA
THE JAPANESE EMPIRE IN 1907
Japanese territory shaded thus
Dependency
Sphere of Influence
English Miles

ownership of Manchurian railways has been employed to favour the Japanese port of Tairen (formerly known as Dalny) at the expense of the mainly British settlement of Newchwang. For many months Japanese merchants were allowed to bring goods into that province on terms denied to other shippers, and foreign traders were refused privileges allowed to Japanese.

Four years ago England and America were obsessed by the vision of a great Russia, all-powerful and all-knowing, moving forward in the Far East almost with the resistlessness of fate. Men marked what was thought to be her campaign of silent, exclusive, and apparently unceasing self-aggrandisement. The growth of Russian supremacy was witnessed with dread, for it was common belief that where Russian power spread the prestige and commerce of other nations declined. To-day the vision of a Russian Colossus, shadowing the earth from the German Ocean to the gates of India, over-lord of Persia, supreme in the councils of Peking, master of Korea and owner of Manchuria, has passed. We know the weakness of the Russian giant. But that which men yesterday believed Russia to be in the Far East, Japan now is. Proclaiming with all possible publicity her adherence to the doctrine of the "open door," she has adopted a policy of national preference and exclusive privilege; nominally standing for the integrity of China, she is maturing plans that can have no purpose if they do not involve the passing of large parts of Chinese territory into Japanese hands. She does not threaten India from the north by the advance of armies, but her teachers are stirring up unrest among some of

the Indian peoples, and her official agents have for nearly two years been at work on a great trade campaign there directly aimed at Lancashire's most profitable market.

England and Japan are in alliance. But it would be foolish to ignore the fact that the imperial and commercial policy of Japan must inevitably, if maintained, strain this alliance to breaking-point within a generation. The wholesale emigration of Japanese coolies will create problems involving a choice for England between the cordial friendship of our colonies and partnership with Japan; we will have to decide in China between offending our ally or maintaining our treaty rights and commercial opportunities unimpaired; and in Korea we are already faced by the alternative of protest or the limitation of a great future market.

Twelve years ago, at the close of the Chino-Japanese War, men saw what the rise of the Island Empire meant. "Why do we find Japan regarding with such nonchalant confidence the prospect of a 'brush' with Russia?" asked a leading daily in the Far East, *The North China Daily News*, in 1895. "And why is it quite possible that a Japan-Russo campaign might not effect the entire annihilation of Japan? It is not due to a bumptious conceit alone that we find Japan calm in the face of a threatened Russian attack, and talking at the same time of such a tremendous undertaking as the abolition of British prestige in the East and the restoration of Indian to the natives. Conceit there is, but it is backed by a knowledge of her resources, and the power which a resort to practices to which European nations do not stoop gives her. Japan, having shown her powers of calculation,

her astuteness and capacity during the recent war, should, we maintain, be henceforth treated with as much caution as courtesy; not as an infant in military tactics and diplomacy, but as a past-master in the arts of both." Then came the cloud of Russian expansion, which temporarily blotted out our clear view of the purpose of the Mikado's advisers. Japan used this time of grace to prepare herself for further advance. How successfully she made ready all the world has since seen.

The policy of imperial expansion has been forced upon the Island Empire by two causes—national pride and economic necessity. When Japan abandoned her old plan of exclusion, she found herself treated by the great Powers as the child-nation of the world. Her people were petted and patronised. They were so different from us, physically and morally, that white men regarded them as amiable, charming, inferior beings. In moments of anger the hooligans among our Anglo-Saxon publicists sneered at them as "yellow monkeys." Even to-day one finds sections of the press of San Francisco and Sydney reeking with such abuse. It is stored up in the long memory of a people who never forget.

Here was a nation, proud and supersensitive, placed in a position that wounded it to the quick. The combined blood of Mongol and Malay flowing in Japanese veins gave at once the temper to brood over, the passion to resent, and the racial power to rise above European estimates. The islanders knew that if they were small physically, and featured in a manner unpleasing to our æsthetic sense, yet their splendidly developed frames could stand cold and

heat and severe toil at least as well as ours. They knew that they had statesmen and warriors trained by generations of faithful conduct to sacrifice all for fatherland, and they were confident that the spirit of their people was charged with a patriotism at least as lofty, an ambition at least as soaring, and a power of endurance at least equal to that of the West.

They were great enough to conceal their resentment. They endured our patronage and smiled at it. They absorbed our naval skill and added their own nerveless fatalism ; their samurai adopted the militarism of Germany and attached to it a revived Bushido ; they studied in our factories, shipyards and workshops, and taught their fellows what they learnt. They even modified the diet of the youths of their better classes in order to alter their physical appearance. Accustomed to a simple life, indifferent to the costly comforts of Western civilisation, fearless and strong-nerved, they attained their end.

No man, unblinded by prejudice, can study the record of this amazing national advance without admiration and respect. It won for the Japanese a high place among the nations of the world, and rightly. In the course of this volume I shall have some things to detail which may not be wholly agreeable to Japanese readers, but I would be sorry indeed to have any misunderstanding on one point. I believe, reluctantly and against my own personal inclinations, that the methods of expansion adopted by Japan must, if not modified, bring disturbance to world peace. But I have witnessed in more than one fierce battle on land and sea the heroism and self-sacrifice of this people, and I cannot but respect their manhood. I

have seen the patient endurance of their women, hungering and worse than hungering at home, while fathers and brothers fought for the Mikado across the sea. I have shared camp and shared bread with their soldiers. Some of them I reckon among my friends. The West, half-informed, first patronised and then heaped hysterical adulation upon the Japanese. In time it will learn to treat them neither as children nor as semi-angels, but as a great, ambitious, and strong-purposed nation.

The second compelling cause for the expansion of Japan has been economic necessity. Japan is poor. Large parts of her territory are mountain or rock, and less than sixteen per cent. is arable land. Wages are very low. The simple lives of the people, the paucity of their wants, and the manner in which they can produce pleasing effects at trivial cost have up to now largely saved them from mental debasement, such as extreme poverty so often brings in Europe. But each year the problem of population becomes more acute. In 1881 the people of Japan numbered thirty-six millions; in 1906, they numbered forty-eight millions, an increase of thirty-three per cent. in twenty-five years. Japan to-day contains an average of no less than 328 people to the square mile. The yearly increase of population has reached as high as 1·54 per cent. The birth-rate is steadily rising. In 1872 it was 1·7; in 1882, 2·49; in 1892, 2·94; and in 1899, 3·10 per hundred. Our own birth-rate, like that of most white races, is steadily falling. It was 2·92 in 1890, and 2·69 in 1905. In our land females greatly outnumber males; in Japan the male children outnumber the female.

Employment has to be found for the extra twelve millions. The growing factory system is absorbing some. The policy of emigration and imperial expansion is beginning to provide for others.

Visitors to Yokohama are often attracted by the spectacle on the English hatoba of armies of strong-limbed, active coolies accompanied by their women-folk and children, and carrying bundles of clothing and bedding. These are the emigrants going out in hundreds and thousands to other lands. The only sight known to me resembling this exodus is the departing streams of Italians at Naples in spring-time on their way to America. Twenty years ago the total of Japanese emigrants did not reach 20,000; in 1900 it had risen to 124,000; to-day there are about 400,000 living in other lands. At least 90,000 Japanese are in Korea, excluding the military; there are about 65,000 in Hawaii, and 70,000 in Western America.

Japan is rapidly proving herself a supreme colonising nation. In three years she had appropriated, with scarce a struggle from the natives, one of the finest and potentially most rich of the minor countries of Asia. Her people are covering Southern Manchuria and are scattering over large parts of China. In Korea and Manchuria they have so disciplined a large population that few men dare to raise a hand against them. Their police are everywhere in their chosen districts, and their troops can quickly reach all places. They are rapidly developing the natural resources, working coal seams hitherto untouched, exploiting idle gold fields and tapping iron beds that up to now were lying waste. The great primeval

forests on the Chinese and Siberian borders of Korea are ringing with their axes, and the sunny fields of the South are growing their cotton.

The very coolie goes out with the air of a conqueror. In Japan itself, the courtesy and restraint of all classes veil and conceal racial antipathy until it is often swept away altogether. Even since the war there has been surprisingly little display of arrogance there. But one finds a very different state of affairs among the Japanese who go abroad. In Korea, Manchuria, and China especially, a large proportion of them are blustering, grasping, and arrogant. "We have beaten the greatest military nation on earth," they say. "The mightiest European power has had to ask our aid to prevent its Asiatic possessions passing from it. Therefore we are the greatest people in the world." To the average Japanese emigrant there are only two classes of humanity—Japanese and others. If you are not Japanese you belong to an inferior race, and there's an end on't.

They very rarely intermarry with other races, and it is almost unknown for them to become the permanent citizens of another country. They desire to be the leaders of New Asia, but at the same time they claim to be looked upon and treated as different from all other Asiatic peoples. The surface-points of resemblance between them and the Chinese, and the facility afforded for inter-communication by similar ideographs, only show in deeper relief the profound differences between these two peoples in character, temperament, and mode of thought. When it was suggested to Baron Kaneko, the official press agent for the Japanese Government in America during

the war, that his country might encourage intermarriage between Japanese and Koreans in Korea, his reply was emphatic: "Not at all! On the contrary we shall oppose it very vigorously. We shall consider the Koreans as a lower race; we will give them all possible liberty, but we shall in every way endeavour to maintain the Japanese spirit among the colonists that go among them. We believe in the superiority of the races, and not in the amalgamation."

One of the most disquieting factors to-day is the enormous expansion taking place in Japanese armaments. To judge from the military preparations in hand, one might conclude that Japan is anticipating another early war.

The Japanese authorities are reticent about their military position, but enough is known to show that the new military and naval schemes now in course of completion will within a few years double the army, and at least double the fighting power of the navy. At the beginning of the Russian War the Japanese army consisted of thirteen divisions, a railway corps in Tokyo, garrison artillery and local garrisons in Tsushima and Formosa. The War Office strove, at the close of 1906, to have the permanent military establishment increased to twenty-one divisions, but this was declared an impossible burden by the Department of Finance. As a compromise, there are now to be seventeen divisions in Japan, two divisions in Korea and Manchuria, and various railway and special corps. Each division is being increased by a thousand men. The time of infantry training has been shortened from three years to two, thus automatically augmenting

the strength of the infantry reserves by 50 per cent. The coast forts have been re-armed, and the field artillery is being re-equipped and greatly increased. Strenuous efforts are being made to improve the cavalry, and the various changes of material and equipment are such, that while the numerical strength will be doubled, the fighting capacity of the army will be increased threefold. Still greater schemes are on foot, and there is little reason to doubt that within a few years Japan will be able to put a million men on her front fighting line, with from a million and a half to two millions of reserves behind.

The naval growth is equally striking. In 1903 the Japanese fleet consisted of six first-class battleships, not including two nominally on the lists but of no value. She lost three battleships in the war, and captured six first-class Russian battleships and three first-class Russian armoured cruisers. It is not yet certain if one of the Japanese battleships supposed to have been wrecked, the *Mikasa*, can or cannot be restored. Last year Japan launched the *Satsuma*, the greatest battleship in the world, greater even than the *Dreadnought*. A second battleship of even greater power, the *Aki*, is now nearing completion, and it is proposed to order a third one from England. The navy is being re-equipped with heavier guns. When her present scheme of naval increase is completed, Japan will have fourteen or fifteen first-class battleships, an equal number of first-class cruisers, and nearly one hundred and fifty destroyers and torpedo craft. Great efforts are being made to construct a special submarine in the Japanese dockyards, largely on the lines of the Holland submarines. It is impossible to

give details of this new boat, but there is every reason to believe that the Japanese are meeting with reasonable success in their experiments.

While Japan is increasing her forces on the Pacific at this amazing rate, England is reducing hers to a negligible minimum. In 1903 we had a respectable Pacific fleet of five battleships and seven cruisers. To-day our battleships have gone, and our attenuated fleet of cruisers still left could be little more than a hostage to a capable foe.

The comparative figures in the Japanese budgets for 1906 or 1907 tell the story of growing militarism in the most striking fashion.

	1906	1907
Army.	Yen	Yen
Ordinary Expenditure ...	50,460,384	53,663,788
Extraordinary Expenditure	1,676,742	57,953,380
Navy.		
Ordinary Expenditure ...	28,914,073	33,414,695
Extraordinary Expenditure	10,615,854	49,067,524

(1 yen = 2*s.*)

Against whom is this great expenditure incurred? It is unnecessary for purposes of national defence, for Japan is so favoured by her natural surroundings that the invasion of her soil by foreign powers would be a work of the greatest difficulty. It is not required to maintain the position Japan has already won in Korea and in Manchuria. What, then, is its purpose? This is a question that those who accept at face value the declaration of world peace and national disinterestedness made by Japanese ministers and diplomats would do well to ask themselves.

Twelve years ago a foremost English thinker,

Mr. Frederick Greenwood, wrote words that may be recalled now. "Sir Henry Maine," he said, "was not solely or even chiefly occupied with empirical politics; and looking above the expediences, even the higher expediences of statecraft, he held that any European power which allied itself in arms with the yellow races against another European nation would play traitor to the welfare of the whole human race. And why it would be a most treacherous, foolish, and wicked part to play becomes clear in a minute to anyone who thinks for so long of what our world and its civilisation would suffer at the hands of hordes of Chinese, Japanese, Malays, equipped as were the captors of Port Arthur."

CHAPTER II

THE FIGHT FOR THE PACIFIC

Japanese photograph.

JAPANESE SHIPBUILDING.

H.I.M's torpedo boat destroyer *Asakase*, built and engined at the Kawasaki dockyards, Kobe. On its official trial trip, December 22, 1905, it travelled over the measured mile at a speed of 29·67 knots.

CHAPTER II

THE FIGHT FOR THE PACIFIC

JAPAN aims to be the leader of a revived Asia. She is advancing to-day along three lines—territorial expansion, increased fighting power, and an aggressive commercial campaign. Two main objects in the commercial campaign are the acquisition of a great shipbuilding industry and the exclusive control of the coasting trade of the Western Pacific.

The growth of Japanese shipbuilding has been amazing. When the ancient junk had to make way for vessels of modern type, Japan at first found it necessary to import nearly all its ships. The skill of Japanese carpenters soon mastered the construction of wooden vessels, and Japan has for some time built all the sailing ships she wants. Progress in the construction of iron and steel steamers was more slow. To help it on, the Government offered a bounty varying from £1 4*s*. to £2 per ton of the body of the ship, for suitable iron or steel steamers of 700 tons upwards in size, with an additional bounty of ten shillings per horse power of the engine.

There are to-day three leading shipyards in Japan, the Mitsubishi at Nagasaki, the Kawasaki at Kobe, and the Osaka ironworks. These three yards employ altogether about 25,000 men, and are well equipped with modern machinery. They have been for some time quite unable to meet the orders pouring into

them, and they are enlarging their accommodation as quickly as they can. The largest dock belongs to the Mitsubishi and measures 728 ft. The heads of these establishments and many of their principal assistants have been trained in British and American yards. It has sometimes been said that all that is done is to piece together material already made abroad, in order to earn the Japanese subsidy. However true this may have been a few years ago, it is certainly not so now. The construction work, to the smallest details, is done in the yards themselves. Japanese mechanics have not yet acquired great facility in handling machinery, and the foreign visitor cannot but be struck by the very large number of men necessary in the yards, probably quite three times as many as would be employed in England for similar work.

Less than ten years ago it was thought almost incredible when the *Hitachi-maru*, a ship of 6,000 tons, was built in Japan. Last year the *Satsuma*, 19,200 tons, the largest battleship in the world, was successfully floated at Nagasaki. Merchant vessels of 13,000 tons are now on the stocks, submarines are being completed, and the Japanese shipbuilders are proving themselves especially successful with torpedo-boat destroyers. In spite of the fact that they are hampered by the lack of cheap iron and steel, they are already competing with English yards for foreign orders. Last June I myself saw five boats on the keel in the Kawasaki yards for the Chinese Government; Siam is giving orders to Japan, and merchant vessels are being made even for India. Government assistance to the leading ship-yards has extended far beyond the mere payment of official subsidies. There are a hundred ways in which

the Japanese authorities can quietly and unostentatiously help the great shipping companies, and they do so, for they realise that ship-building is an essential part of national defence.

For some years it was clear that the Japanese would be dangerous competitors with Europe in shipping. Even before the war, Japanese liners were running to London on the one side and to Sydney, Australia, on the other. It is an open secret that the endeavour to run great mail lines manned by white sailors on the Pacific has not been very profitable for America. Line after line has lost money by the experiment. Mr. J. J. Hill, one of the leading American railway presidents, built the largest cargo ships on earth to go from Seattle to China and Japan. He planned a great scheme in conjunction with Mr. Pierpont Morgan and others by which a group of American railways, brought together under the control of the Northern Securities Company, should feed his Seattle boats with American manufactures, to be poured into the East. The Northern Securities Company was dissolved by the action of the American Government, and the Hill steamers from Seattle have been white elephants. Seven American companies have, in past years, attempted to maintain regular lines between San Francisco and Australia. Six of these have failed, and a year ago the seventh threatened to stop its business if the American Government did not come to its assistance. The Pacific Mail Line under the control of Mr. Harriman, the American railway king, operates a magnificent service of boats between San Francisco and Japan. Soon after the close of the Russian War, Mr. Harriman opened negotiations

with the Toyo-Kisen-Kasha for the purchase of his vessels. The negotiations were broken off from the American side, although the Japanese were willing to conclude them.

The white man is undoubtedly severely handicapped in the Pacific trade. It costs an American ship over two shillings a day to feed and maintain its crew; it costs a Japanese less than sixpence. The Japanese captain demands only a fraction of the minimum rate for a European captain, and the same difference is observable in all expenses. The great English lines in China which have a large Pacific coasting trade, work with Chinese crews and English officers. Here the Japanese possess an advantage over us, because of the considerable subsidies paid by their Government.

These subsidies take two forms. There is a regular allowance for steamers of not less than a thousand tons in displacement engaged in open sea service, and capable of making at least ten knots an hour. This bounty is a shilling per ten knots covered per ton for a steamer of one thousand tons, with an increase of ten per cent. for every additional five hundred tons and twenty per cent. for every addition of one knot per hour to the speed. If the steamer is foreign built and has been registered later than October 1, 1899, only half the rate is granted. Besides this, the Government makes an extra and often considerable allowance for special services. The subsidy thus granted amounts to £600,000 a year, and it is mainly divided between the two great lines, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha and Osaka Shosen Kaisha. All the great shipping companies are practically departments of the Government service. One reads in official publications

that the Government has "ordered" such-and-such a company to start a line to a certain place or to increase its tonnage somewhere else. This is not a mere figure of speech. Leading lines have their shares largely held by the inner ring of high officials.

When the Government wishes to help in promoting trade in a certain direction it goes about the matter very systematically. This may be illustrated by the case of India. The Japanese Government determined to attack the Indian cotton market. It first despatched agents who carefully examined the field and sent back a large number of samples of the kind of goods required by the Hindoo peoples. These samples were distributed among the various museums and manufacturing houses in Japan, and the producers were urged to make goods like them. Specially subsidised lines to India were opened and maintained. This was legitimate enough. But it was accompanied by other things which English people may be excused for thinking unusual. Various Japanese publicists visited India. Some were lecturing upon the accomplishments of New Japan; others met Indian leaders in conference and asked them why other Asiatic peoples could not emulate Japan's example; others went through the country simply as Buddhists suddenly taken with a desire to make a pilgrimage to men of their own faith; and still others as Christians examining religious developments there.

The speeches of some of these Japanese visitors were frankly anti-British. They urged on the Hindoos, publicly and privately, to recreate their nationality and to obtain their independence. Thus Mr. Harada Tasuku, a well-known religious leader, wrote to a

number of educated Indians with whom he had come in contact during his Indian visit. "We cannot but deeply sympathise with you in the trying political situation in which you are now placed," he said. "It is my constant hope that the day will come when India will occupy a prominent place in the Eastern world as an independent and self-governing country." [1] As a writer in *The Japanese Weekly Mail* who quoted these words remarked: "Were an English missionary or Christian layman to go to Formosa or Korea and say publicly that he prayed for the day when the natives would no longer be subject to Japanese rule, we venture to think the said gentleman would bring down a hornets' nest about his ears."

An unusual ferment was noticed among the forty Indian students at Tokyo. The Indo-Japanese Association held a meeting in Tokyo at which Count Okuma, the well-known Japanese statesman, told the Indians present that Japan had a peculiar regard for India, and spoke of the position of independence to which India was legitimately aspiring. "Japan and England must look to the welfare of India," he said. "India and Japan must work hand in hand for the betterment of the people in this part of the world. If we work together, the commercial relations of the countries will be developed to a greater degree." The Japanese press began to interest itself in the Swadeshi movement in India, a well-known anti-British agitation. One Hindoo wrote to the semi-official *Japan Times* declaring that his people were slaves. "At present,"

[1] "Kore ni kuwauru ni tanen gensen taru shuno nakarishi ga tame ni, konai ni oite mo, shiso gassezu, ishi no kwantsu sezaru mono sukunashi to sezu" (KIRISUTOKYO SEKAI, *October*, 1906).

he said, "India awaits' the help of an Oriental nation which has already been a success in civilisation and by its virtue has taught a good lesson to the countries of the West." The fact that this agitation and unrest arose while Japan was completing her commercial campaign may or may not have been a coincidence. Agitation, subsidised shipping, ferment, and the rest all worked together to promote trade and increase the distribution of Japanese manufactured goods.

Early last year the Japanese shipping companies showed that they intended to go a step further than before. They started to extend their lines and to enter into acute fighting competition with British and German companies on the Pacific. Their mercantile marine had increased from 720,000 tons before the war, to 1,200,000 tons, and further business had to be found for it. One of the heads of the leading Japanese shipping company, the N.Y.K., boldly announced in a rash moment that it was necessary to check the arrogance of foreign steamship companies east of Suez. A fight was begun with two well-known firms of China merchants, Messrs. Butterfield & Swire, and Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co. The Japanese claimed a coasting monopoly, particularly on the Yokohama-Shanghai line. From Shanghai the fight extended to Bangkok and has been going on vigorously ever since.

About the same time another fight arose in the Yangtsze valley. The Yangtsze was long considered the special British field of trade in China. Ten years ago three of the four companies which plied on the river were British, and the fourth was the China merchants. The N.Y.K. purchased one of the British

lines, the McBain, in 1902, and a second Japanese company, the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, also entered the field. The great port on the Yangtsze is Han-kow, the coming commercial capital of China. Messrs. McBain had a very good site on the British concession, and the N.Y.K. imagined that it would be permitted to use this site. Other British firms objected, claiming that no vessels but those flying the British flag were allowed to moor in the British section. The British Government supported the prohibition. The Japanese felt very much incensed over the matter, and claimed that they had been badly treated. "As England is our ally," said Mr. R. Kondo, the president of the line, at the annual meeting last November, "and as the two countries are pledged to render each other political assistance, I imagined that even in matters of trade we should not have experienced such unsympathetic treatment. But that was a mistake on my part. I find that in national commerce there is no distinction between ally and national enemy, and that when any outsider attempts to invade one's sphere of influence it is customary to exert all one's strength for his exclusion. Hence that England, who has included the richest part of Central China in her sphere of commercial influence, should vehemently oppose our entry there, is not to be wondered at. On this account, however, we must be prepared to encounter more or less difficulty in the future also, and we must only hope to achieve the Company's aims in spite of it."

For the past year competition of the most severe kind has been waged between the European and Japanese lines on the Yangtsze. Messrs. Butterfield & Swire have five vessels running between Shanghai

and Han-kow, Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Co. have the same number, and there are three German and three other British vessels there. The Japanese have six steamers plying between Shanghai and Han-kow, three between Tokyo and Han-kow, and three between Osaka and Han-kow. In addition to these there are various other vessels, British, foreign and Chinese, including the very fine service of the China Merchants Company. The Japanese are using every possible political means to add to their influence and to secure cargoes. If they succeed in driving the British ships off the Yangtsze, a severe blow will be inflicted upon British prestige. The firms that are upholding the British flag there are strong, and are more than able to stand their own against any ordinary competition. But even the greatest group of merchant princes may well pause when it finds itself in a fight against a Government. This is undoubtedly the case here. The supreme force directing the Yangtsze fight is no shipping company, but the Japanese Government itself.

This has been shown by a Bill brought into the House of Representatives in the spring of 1907. This Bill proposes a fresh series of subsidies and grants for the Japanese shipping companies with lines to Shanghai, North China, and the Yangtsze. Annual subsidies are to be extended from October next to March, 1912. Three vessels are to be put on the Shanghai line each over 2,500 tons gross, with a maximum speed of more than fourteen knots an hour. Three more are also to be provided. Various minute conditions are made about the North China, Hokaido, and other lines. The Shipping Subsidies' Bill for the Yangtsze steamers provides for the establish-

ment of regular services on various routes. It gives the Government power to fix the number of voyages, ports of call and time schedules, and the Government must approve of the passenger rates and freightage. The whole measure ensures the maintenance and the financing of the Japanese Yangtsze Services. It is the Japanese Government's reply to those British companies which have been bold enough to attempt to hold their own in this former sphere of British influence.

There is no question but that the Japanese lines are now very largely acquiring trade that was formerly British. An American Consul, Mr. George Anderson of Amoy, writing on this matter last year, before the recent spell of activity, gave some valuable information about affairs on the lower Chinese coast. After calling attention to the great increase that has taken place in Japanese tonnage, he continued, "How this great Japanese tonnage has affected British shipping interests is easily shown by the returns of the shipping in Chinese and Japanese ports for the past few years. The relative decrease in British tonnage from year to year, and the rise of Japanese tonnage, is in marked keeping with the development of the Japanese subsidy scheme. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha fleet at present consists of 75 vessels with an aggregate tonnage of 26,000 tons. The Osaka Shosen Kaisha fleet includes 97 vessels, with a total tonnage of 313,000 tons. There are many other steamers owned by similar companies. At the present time Japanese shipyards are turning out more vessels, contracts now made providing for the construction of a number of vessels equal to the largest and finest American ships on the Pacific Ocean. On the other hand, the number of British ships engaged

in the trade of the lower Chinese coast, where Japanese competition has been felt most keenly, is decreasing.

"The situation may fairly be represented, so far as this general course of trade is concerned, by the experience of a British steamship company which has had a fleet and vessels engaged in the Chinese coast trade since the earliest development of foreign trade in China, its particular field being the Chinese coast from Hong-Kong to Amoy, Foochow, and over the Channel to Formosa. Six years ago this company had seven vessels engaged in this trade, and all of them were kept busy at good rates. Gradually its trade slackened, and vessels were sold, until now the company is operating three ships and its dividends are constantly decreasing. The Japanese ships have increased in number, until there is almost daily service between these ports, and the number of ships is increasing if anything. It does not necessarily follow that all these Japanese ships have a large amount of business, for as a matter of fact they do not have it; but they are driving other shipping out of the field. As an illustration of their policy in this respect and of the manner in which they have built up their trade, it may be stated that when the Japanese shipping interests planned to go into the field, they asked permission of the owners of British ships concerned to look over their ships. The Japanese took all necessary measurements and duplicated British ships with which they were to compete. The fight for business between the two interests has been strenuous and almost bitter.

"The Japanese vessels are reaching out for passenger business, and not only offer more discounts from a common established tariff, but are offering as good

if not better accommodation for passengers. One of the requirements of their subsidy contracts is a regular schedule and prompt arrivals. This aids in the development of their passenger business. Naturally this competition has resulted in a considerable decline in freight rates; and this decline, together with the fact that there had been a vast increase in the number of ships to be supported out of a trade which has not increased in proportion, has had its natural results—a lack of satisfactory returns from the investments. While the net earnings of the large Japanese companies for last year (1905) were large and satisfactory, the present earnings are far from being such. A Japanese vernacular newspaper figures out a loss of 1,638 yen a month, or 19,656 yen a year (£1,965), sustained by a steamer engaged in the coal trade between Moji and Yokohama. Such loss, of course, is not common, and at most represents an extreme view of the situation, but it may at least be said that the present situation is far from being so encouraging as to justify the increased investments of the Japanese in mercantile shipping."

Thus on the one side in this battle for the Pacific we see the British merchants, capable, with abundant funds, with old and well-tried organisations, and with established connections. On the other side we see a Government working with funds borrowed from the English people and using them to destroy British trade. I do not wouder at the bitterness of one great British merchant in the Far East, who said to me, "Every loan made by England to Japan is now equivalent to presenting Japan with a knife to cut the throats of the British Far Eastern traders."

CHAPTER III

HOW JAPAN CAME TO KOREA

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KOREA represents Japan's greatest colonial experiment. Since February, 1904, it has been actually if not nominally under Japanese jurisdiction. The story of what has been done in that time in the Hermit Kingdom is of double interest to us. First, it concerns us as ourselves the greatest of colonising nations, for it enables us to see how others attempt to solve the problem we have so often had to deal with. Next, the fact that Japan and England are to-day in alliance, and that England has in a sense stood sponsor for the Land of the Rising Sun to other Western nations, makes the external and colonising policy of Japan a matter of real moment for British people.

Until thirty years ago Korea remained closed to all nations. Japan, its neighbour to the east, had a little foot-hold at Fusan. Between Korea and Manchuria, its northern neighbour, lay the great borderland of the bandit regions, in which no man's life was worth an hour's purchase. Time after time Western Powers had tried to break down Korean exclusiveness, but always in vain. The cables of an American ship, the *General Sherman*, hanging in triumph over the gateways of Ping-Yang, proclaimed to the nation the destruction that awaited foreigners who visited there.

Then in 1876 Japan came and conquered. A

treaty of peace and friendship was made between the empire and the kingdom, by which three ports were opened to Japanese commerce, and Japanese subjects were given the privilege of travelling within an area of about three miles around each port. The Japanese further secured the right of establishing a Legation in Seoul, the Korean capital. This treaty was followed in a few years by other treaties with America, with Great Britain, and with various European Powers. Consulates-General and then Legations were established in Seoul, and the West found itself in touch with the quaintest and most fantastic of the peoples of the East.

The King and autocrat of Korea, living in his wonderful Palace underneath the shadow of the mountain at Seoul, heard of the marvels of the West. Even his great dancing-hall, the hall of the hundred pillars, or his wonderful lake of the thousand lilies, or his armies of white-robed singing girls, failed to satisfy him. He must know of other lands. So he had foreign teachers ; the wives of missionaries made friends with the Queen, and schemers and intriguers of every kind came and advanced their plans for the progress of the kingdom.

Two nations had already marked Korea out as their own. Japan wanted it to ensure the safety of her territories and to give her people a field for expansion. Russia desired it because here she could find safe and open ports for the terminus of her already projected Trans-Siberian Line. But there was one power in the way. China possessed a somewhat nebulous suzerainty over Korea. In 1894 Japan declared war against China, revealed herself as a military nation,

scored her great victory, and ended Chinese suzerainty once for all.

The natural result was that Japan immediately acquired supreme authority in Seoul. The Japanese Minister had a great and influential party of natives behind him, and he set about a campaign of reform. He was met at point after point by the resolute opposition of the Queen. She was as strong a character as her husband was weak; she believed that Japan was threatening the independence of her country, and so she faced and defeated intrigue after intrigue. Count Inouye, the well-known Japanese statesman, represented his country at that time. He returned to Japan, but before leaving he had an interview with the Queen, and made offers of friendship which did not meet with a very cordial response. Inouye was succeeded by Viscount Miura, a stern soldier. Miura determined to solve the Palace difficulty in the quickest way. He conspired with the anti-royal party, and one night a body of disguised Japanese policemen and natives burst into the Palace, Japanese troops openly supporting them.

What followed is best described in the words of one living in Seoul at the time, Mrs. Bishop, who was then a guest of the British Consulate-General.

There can be no question of Mrs. Bishop's impartiality or of her opportunity for acquiring exact information. It is the more necessary to quote her words now, as attempts have recently been made to condone or deny the actions of Miura.

"Japanese troops also entered the Palace," she wrote, "and formed in military order under the command of their officers round the small courtyard

of the King's house and at its gate, protecting the assassins in their murderous work. Before this force of Japanese regulars arrived there was a flying rout of servants, runners, and Palace-guards, rushing from every point of the vast enclosure in mad haste to get out of the gates. As the Japanese entered the building, the unfortunate King, hoping to divert their attention and give the Queen time to escape, came into a room where he could be distinctly seen. Some of the Japanese assassins rushed in brandishing their swords, pulled His Majesty about, and beat and dragged about some of the Palace ladies by the hair in his presence. The Crown Prince, who was in an inner room, was seized, his hat torn off and broken, and he was pulled about by the hair and threatened with swords to make him show the way to the Queen, but he managed to reach the King, and they have never been separated since.

"The Queen, flying from the assassins, was overtaken and stabbed, falling down as if dead, but one account says that, recovering a little, she asked if the Crown Prince, her idol, was safe, on which a Japanese jumped on her breast and stabbed her through and through with his sword." [1]

The Japanese Minister had made a terrible and apparently, for a time, an irreparable mistake. He was recalled and put on trial by his Government, but the case was not proceeded with beyond a preliminary inquiry.

His successor managed to drive the Korean people, now bitter against the murderers of their Queen, to still further exasperation. The Japanese had not

[1] *Korea and Her Neighbours*, by Mrs. Bishop.

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

ENTRANCE TO THE OLD PALACE OF THE KOREAN EMPEROR, SEOUL.

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

FUSAN, KOREA.

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then learned, and apparently have not yet learned, that while you can safely break or make Governments, you must not interfere with personal customs. A nation will stand an income-tax of a shilling in the pound with a smile, but it will smash the railings of Hyde Park if you attempt to close the public-houses at ten o'clock. The Japanese did the equivalent of trying to close the public-houses an hour earlier. Under their direction it was decreed, to mention only one of several similar matters, that the Korean man must leave off his top-knot. To the Korean, the top-knot is the symbol of manhood and of honour. The day when a boy has his hair made into a knot is the proudest of his life, because it shows that childhood is over. To be without the knot is to be a weakling and an object of contempt. The people rose in anger. The Emperor—to give him the title he afterwards assumed—just about this time escaped from the rebels who were guarding him, and took shelter in the Russian Legation, and the supremacy of the Japanese was for the moment over.

The spell of Russian supremacy which followed was not very brilliant. The Russian Minister in Korea at the time, M. Waeber, was a wise and conciliatory statesman. He secured the appointment of numerous Russian officials; and a Russian bank and Russian military instructors began to appear. His Government thought, however, that he was not going fast enough, and so he was succeeded by M. Speyer, who, under orders from above, tried to quicken the pace. The Russians attempted to oust an English official, Mr. McLeavy Brown. Here for once England asserted

herself. A British fleet arrived at Chemulpho Harbour, and Mr. Brown retained place and power.

The Russians proved incapable of holding the great advantage they had gained through the blunder of Viscount Miura. Japan started to win back her old position again, and for some years a close diplomatic struggle was maintained. The Korean Emperor, a weak and well-meaning man, was now pulled one way and now the other. The Customs were under the charge of Mr. Brown, who proved himself an unbiassed and magnificently able controller. He employed the methods of Sir Robert Hart, his old chief in China. He considered that it was his duty to maintain the open door, and to act as the guardian not only of the particular interests of England, but of the common interests of all white nations. Thus it was that in the Korean Customs Service men of almost every European power worked in harmony under their Irish chief. In a country notoriously corrupt, there was in his department no suspicion of corruption or of favouritism. Mr. Brown was for a time given control of Korean finances, but his position here was never so absolute as in the Customs. So far as his power went, however, he effected great reforms. Other departments of the Korean service were administered by foreign instructors, but Mr. Brown stood alone. Korea was in the Postal Union ; there was a telegraphic service from end to end of the land ; a comfortable railway built with American capital ran from Chemulpho to Seoul ; and in the capital itself the hiss of the electric car was heard. Thus in the early years of this century we would have found in Korea a combination of modernity and barbarism. The electric light, the

electric tramcars, and the comfortable railway could not blind one to the fact that the administration was full of abuses. Bribery was wholesale, corruption had eaten into the heart of the Government, and from the highest to the lowest there was a reign of intrigue and abuse. The two rival nations seemed to aim at keeping the government of the land as inefficient as possible, and one could only conclude that they were deliberately fostering bad administration. The better-class Koreans were carefully shunted.

All this time Japanese influence and the number of Japanese settlers had been steadily growing. In the early nineties two able diplomats stood face to face—M. Pavloff, the courtly representative of the Czar, and M. Hayashi, a quiet, pleasant, and determined spokesman for the Mikado. World events had combined to make Korea of greater and greater importance. Russia and Japan both wanted her as never before, and in the closing days of 1903 it became clear that the struggle for supremacy between the two must soon be settled.

In February, 1904, Japanese soldiers landed at Chemulpho, and Japan at last struck her blow. The story of how the powerful Japanese fleet destroyed two Russian ships in Chemulpho Harbour, and of how the Japanese soldiers occupied Seoul and the Japanese army spread over the country, is now a matter of history. Japan at this time had the choice of two ways before her. She might, making the stress of war an excuse, tear up her old treaties and assume formal control of Korea, or she might regard Korea as her independent ally. Korea itself was powerless to resist whatever was done.

The latter course was chosen. A policy of annexation would have thrown difficulties in the way of the Japanese troops marching through the country, and would further have given an opening for hostile action by European Powers. So a protocol between Japan and Korea was signed on February 23 a fortnight after the landing of the Japanese soldiers. In this protocol the Imperial Government of Japan pledged itself in a spirit of firm friendship to ensure the safety and repose of the Imperial House of Korea, and it further definitely guaranteed the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire.

Most foreigners in Korea at that time, myself among them, heartily welcomed the coming of the Japanese. We were tired of the corruption and exaction of the yangbans and high Korean officials. We knew that here was a nation that had been kept down for generations by the ineptness of its own Government, and we had daily evidence of the harm a feeble, incapable, and occasionally cruel administration was inflicting on the workers. We believed then that Japan, while dealing possibly stern measures against the corrupt officials, would give justice to the common man, would bring honesty in the administrative work, and would open up the country as never before for the benefit of world trade.

Here was Japan's golden opportunity, the opportunity to demonstrate to the world that she was as mighty in the arts of peace as in her growing conquests in war. We believed that she would seize the occasion and show in Korea, as she had shown time after time under other circumstances, that she had in her possibilities which the West had hardly yet begun to fathom.

The Japanese began well. They were already pushing ahead a great railway concession for a line from Fusan to Seoul. Some of the most corrupt Korean officials, including Yi Yong Ik, the greatest and the most unscrupulous of all, found it convenient to retire from politics for a time.

Large numbers of Korean coolies were employed in carrying supplies to the north for the Japanese soldiers, and they were all paid with a punctuality and liberality which left them amazed. It seemed that Japan would repeat in Korea the strict rectitude which had been the distinguishing mark of her occupation of Southern Manchuria in 1895.

Even while battles were being fought in the north, Seoul was full of talk of reforms. The currency was to be altered, new schools were to be built, new railways to be laid, and the Palace purified. The soothsayers and fortune-tellers, who formed so prominent a feature of Seoul life, were, it was rumoured, to be cleared out. The incapable Korean army, whose officers made up in splendour of uniform what they lacked in courage, was to be almost wholly disbanded. The Emperor was to place himself in the hands of his Japanese advisers ; there was to be no more selling of Government posts ; farming was to be transformed ; banking was to be modernised ; and the lazy officials who did nothing but prey off the people were to be swept away. The Japanese were loud in their emphasis of the fact that they were in Korea, not alone for their own benefit, but as a nation doing the work of all civilised races, and securing the maintenance of the open door and of equal opportunities for all.

Then came the succession of remarkable Japanese

victories and the tone of the statesmen and administrators altered. Schemes were put forward and methods adopted which first amazed and then alienated large sections of the white residents. One of the most amazing of these new departures went by the name of the Nagamori scheme. The Japanese Legation proposed that all the waste lands of the country, which meant the greater part of Korea, should be handed over to a certain Mr. Nagamori, a Japanese subject, for the term of fifty years, without payment. Mr. Nagamori was to be free to do what he liked with the lands, to sell or to keep them, and the properties were to be released from taxation for some years. If, at the end of fifty years, the Korean Government wanted them back, it would have them by paying back all the money which had been expended, together with compound interest.

The Japanese Legation fought very hard to get this through, but the matter excited such resentment among the Koreans and the foreigners that it was allowed to lapse. This scheme helped to start a great revulsion of feeling amongst the Koreans against the Japanese. The revulsion was increased by still more powerful causes.

CHAPTER IV

THE PASSING OF EMPIRE

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BEFORE discussing the effects of the new Japanese administration upon the Korean people, I may be allowed to complete the story of the dealings between the Korean and the Japanese Governments. One result of the Nagamori scheme was to unite the Korean Ministry and the Korean people against the Japanese. The Emperor and his Ministers could not point-blank refuse to do what Mr. Hayashi demanded, but they could intrigue, delay, and forget, and shelter themselves behind the Japanese solemn promise to maintain the integrity and independence of their country.

They adopted a policy of passive resistance exceedingly annoying and hampering to the Japanese. Then it was that the Japanese resolved on a further step. They had by this time concluded the Treaty of Portsmouth and renewed their alliance with England. Now they would assume the sovereignty of Korea. Accordingly the Marquis Ito, Japan's foremost statesman, arrived at Seoul in November, 1905, bringing with him a treaty that would at once sweep Korean independence out of existence. The Emperor and his advisers resolved that under no circumstances would they consent to sign such a document.

The Korean Emperor had heard of what was coming and he determined to appeal to the American

Government for aid. In the Treaty of 1882, between America and Korea, the first article was :

"There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the President of the United States and the King of Chosen, and the citizens and subjects of their respective Governments. If other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings."

The Koreans thought that now was their opportunity to claim the fulfilment of this promise. A well-known American resident in Seoul, Mr. Homer B. Hulbert, employed in the educational department of the Korean Government, was sent with a letter from the Emperor to President Roosevelt asking for help against Japan. The various grievances of the Korean people were stated in detail. A second petition was also drawn up, but was kept back until it was too late to send it. Mr. Hulbert and the Korean Emperor's advisers were not expert in the details of diplomatic requirements, consequently the messenger was allowed to depart without any formal documents that would authorise him to act as an accredited representative of the Korean Emperor. When he arrived at Washington, he was treated according to strict international usage, as a messenger empowered to do nothing but to deliver his letter. The Washington authorities delayed receiving him for a day or two. They then announced that he was too late, as a fresh treaty had already been concluded between Korea and Japan, by which Korea had handed over all its diplomatic work to the Japanese Government.

The whole action on the part of the American Government conveys the impression of being a cynical and faithless disavowal of a treaty obligation that it was inconvenient to fulfil. It has been openly declared that President Roosevelt, when seeking to persuade the Japanese to agree to the Treaty of Portsmouth, gave them an unwritten promise that, so far as America was concerned, Japan should have a free hand in Korea. How far this is true I cannot say. Those who have watched most closely President Roosevelt's fearlessness, time after time, in carrying out campaigns that he believed to be right, but which he knew would bring him great unpopularity, cannot believe that he would knowingly break his country's promise, even to a dying nation. Probably he and his advisers had altogether forgotten this first clause of the treaty. At all events, whatever the explanation, America avoided its responsibilities and the American Government was the first to recall its Minister shortly afterwards from Seoul.

Knowing that Mr. Hulbert had departed for Washington, the Japanese hurried on with their plans. They had determined that the independence and autonomy of Korea should cease. They were willing to use as many soft phrases as necessary and to describe the transfer in any pleasant language that the Koreans desired. But they wanted Korea, and they were going to have it.

Early in November, the Marquis Ito arrived in Seoul as special envoy from the Mikado. The entire Japanese forces, horse, foot, and artillery, then around the city, were brought in front of the Palace and were manœuvred there for days during the whole time of the negotiations.

The Marquis Ito had audience with the Emperor on November 15, and presented the proposed treaty for his consent. There were four main provisions. The control and direction of the external affairs of Korea were to be handed over to the Government of Japan. The Korean Government was to pledge itself not to conclude any act or engagement of an international character except through the medium of Japan. A Japanese Resident-General was to live at Seoul, primarily for the purpose of directing diplomatic affairs, and he was to have the right to private and personal audience with the Korean Emperor. Japanese residents under the Resident-General were to be appointed in any part of Korea where the Japanese thought necessary. This treaty, as will be seen, stripped the last threads of independence from the country and handed it over entirely to its neighbour.

The Emperor and his Ministers resolved not to give in. For months before this Mr. Hayashi and his assistant, Mr. Hagiwara, had been doing their utmost to persuade them to ask for such a protectorate, but in vain. When the Emperor was requested to agree to the new treaty he replied that such a matter could only be decided in consultation with the wise men and counsellors of his country. "I did not believe the rumours that appeared in papers that Japan proposed to assume a protectorate over Korea," said the Emperor; "I placed faith in Japan's adherence to her promise to maintain the independence of Korea. When I heard you were coming to my country, I was glad, for I believed your mission was to increase the friendship between our nations. Your demands have therefore taken me entirely by surprise." The

Marquis Ito persisted, whereupon the Emperor declared passionately that if he assented he would ruin his country, and he would die rather than agree.

The negotiations with the Emperor and his Ministers were kept on until the evening of the 17th. The Marquis Ito warned the Ministers that if they did not agree their obstinacy would mean the instant destruction of the Korean Empire. He further urged upon them that such a treaty was absolutely necessary for the preservation of peace in the Far East. Day by day the Japanese troops continued their parades, charges, and demonstrations outside the Palace gates.

On the evening of the 17th the Marquis Ito again demanded an audience with the Emperor. The Emperor refused to grant it, saying that he was ill, and that the Marquis must talk the matter over with his Cabinet Ministers. Upon this the Japanese Envoy went to the Cabinet Ministers and announced to them that the Emperor had directed them to reopen negotiations. Only that afternoon the Ministers had met together and sworn once more never to give way. Now came the final tug-of-war. It was an amazing scene. In the Council Chamber, lit by electricity, the two groups sat, the white-robed Koreans squatted on the floor, the Japanese in their uniforms around them. Now Han Kew Sul, the acting Prime Minister, repeated the unvarying objection of himself and his colleagues. "It is robbing us of our independence." Now for the hundredth time, they reminded the Japanese of their promise, solemnly endorsed and signed little more than eighteen months ago, to maintain the rights and integrity of the empire.

Ito himself, broad-faced, clear-eyed, strong, kept ever to the one point, that the permanent peace of the Far East required their consent. Now, with the winning manner of which he is master, he would talk to one of them aside, pitying, regretting, and pleading. Now his voice would grow stern and hard, and the tobacco-stained teeth would appear prominently. Then Hayashi, suave, immovable, would add his pleading, and Hagiwara, the young, Western-trained diplomat, would come in more brusquely.

Hour after hour the conference continued. Midnight struck, and still there was no agreement. There was the movement of men outside, and the wearied Ministers could see through the opening doors the uniformed figures of General Hasegawa and others with him. The voices of the Japanese grew more threatening. "Yield or it means instant destruction for all," came the threat. The fevered imaginations of the Ministers heard in every crackling bough around them the creeping of Japanese soldiers. As they entered the Palace that evening, they had moved through heavy lines of Japanese troops outside. Were the little serge-clad infantry men already through the gates? Was the Emperor already dead? Were they to pass away within an hour, the victims of Japanese bullets and bayonets?

They were old enough to remember former trouble. There was not a man in the group but knew of the tragic days when the Japanese murdered their Queen. Were they going to repeat that deed now? The Korean is not particularly brave, and the Ministers tasted the bitterness of death that night.

Then one Minister, overcome by the persistence of

the Japanese, began to weaken. "What is the use of our resisting?" he asked; "the Japanese always get their own way in the end." Pak Che Sun, the Foreign Minister and one of the most honest servants the Korean Emperor ever had, made the suggestion that a clause should be added to the treaty that the Government of Japan would maintain the welfare and dignity of the Imperial House of Korea. The Japanese at once agreed. The acting Prime Minister, Han Kew Sul, seeing how matters were moving, angrily jumped up and declared that he would go at once to the Emperor and report the Ministers. He was suffered to leave the room, and then, after the Marquis Ito and General Hasegawa had both argued with him, Mr. Hagiwara, the Secretary of the Japanese Legation, seized him by the wrists and, backed by the Japanese Chief of Police, flung him into a room and kept him prisoner.

The remaining Ministers were led to believe that Han Kew Sul had been murdered. About two in the morning they gave way, and orders were telephoned to the Foreign Office to bring along the great seal of State in order that the new treaty might be signed. Pak Che Sun, fearing beforehand that something like this might happen, had told his assistant at the Foreign Office that the seal was not to be delivered. Consequently when the telephone message came, the assistant refused to obey, and the Japanese were compelled to send messengers and take the seal by force from him. The Emperor himself did not sign the treaty. The Japanese claim that there was no reason that he should do so. All that was necessary was that his Foreign Minister, acting for him, should

sign and affix the seal of State. Whether, driven by fear, the Emperor late that night gave way, no man can say. Certainly he afterwards repudiated the treaty in private and in public. The Japanese themselves claim that he has been the real force since then behind the efforts to create internal trouble.

As there have been many contradictory statements published concerning the manner in which this treaty was secured, it may be perhaps well for me to state here that the version I give is based on statements made to me by some of the chief actors in the tragic drama. It is impossible to give the names of my informants, for they fear, rightly or wrongly, that such publication would bring them the certain vengeance of the Japanese authorities. I have confirmed in every way possible the facts as told to me, and I have the best reason for believing them to be correct. I do not see how any man who gathers evidence as I did, hearing authoritative spokesmen on both the Japanese and Korean sides, could do otherwise than come to the conclusion that this treaty was extracted by force from an unwilling and terrorised Government. The attempt made by Japanese publicists to maintain that the treaty was a glad and voluntary surrender on the part of the Koreans, is unworthy of them. One has some respect for the bold and ruthless buccaneer who takes what he wants and glories in it. One has nothing but contempt for the hypocrite who picks a man's pocket while professing friendship and brotherliness.

The news of the signing of the treaty was received with consternation by the Korean people. The bold hillmen of the north poured down towards Seoul. At

Ping-Yang they were stopped by the urgent counsel of the white men there and the native Christians. "Let us go south," they said, "let us die around the throne of our Emperor. What use is it for us to live when the independence of our country is gone?" Petitions poured in on the Emperor asking for a repudiation of the treaty. "I fully appreciate the public wrath," said the Emperor weakly, "but you yourselves must find a way of arranging this." Pak Che Sun, horrified next day at his own act, attempted to commit suicide. The shops put up their shutters as a sign of mourning and there were fights between the Korean crowds and the Japanese gendarmes. Several leading Koreans committed suicide. Chief among these was a noted patriot and statesman, Min Yong Whan, who had been Special Korean Representative in London for Queen Victoria's Jubilee, and who after that had spent some time in America studying and adopting foreign ways. Forty times in succession he forwarded petitions to the Emperor, but could not obtain audience. Then he sent for his mother to take charge of his household, and wrote letters to various friends pleading for his country.

Here is a translation of one of his letters to an American friend:

"I, Min Yong Whan, have been unable to do my duty as a true subject of my country, and not having served her well, she and her people are brought to this present hopeless condition. Foreseeing the coming death of my country, I am now offering my humble farewell to His Majesty, my Emperor, and to the twenty millions of my fellow countrymen, in an excess

of despair and utter hopelessness. I know that my death will accomplish nothing, and that my people will all be lost in the coming life-and-death struggle; but seeing that I can do nothing to prevent this by living, I have taken my decision.

"You must know the aim and actions of the Japanese at the present day; I therefore beseech you to use your good offices in making known to the world whatever injustice my people may suffer, and you may use your magnanimous efforts in trying to uphold our independence. If you can do this for my land, even my dying soul can rest happily. Do not misunderstand the good intentions of my people. I trust you will not forget our first treaty (with America) made between your republic and my country. May there be practical proof of your sympathy from your Government and your people; then even the dead shall know, and be thankful to you.

"Yours in despair,
(signed and sealed) "MIN YONG WHAN."[1]

He then killed himself. Eight months afterwards a servant going to the room where his blood-stained death coat had been pushed away, found that a mysterious bamboo had sprung up there. The news went all over Korea that heaven had spoken. The shooting bamboo showed directly from the other world that he had done well. The bamboo became the centre of a pilgrimage, and the Japanese police had to take steps to turn the crowds away.

The foreign Legations were quickly withdrawn, and the Japanese continued to tighten their hold of

[1] *The Korean Review*, Jan. 1906

the administrative machinery of the country. The postal and telegraph departments had already been taken over from the Koreans and placed in the hands of Japanese; shortly before the signing of the new treaty the British head of the Customs, Mr. McLeavy Brown, was driven to resign, and his office was assumed by a Japanese; a Japanese financial adviser ruled over the monetary affairs of the State; a Japanese bank kept the Government accounts; the railways were in Japanese hands; the Japanese had been given the right of fishing in internal waters; and the Japanese officials were the real powers in local administration. The Marquis Ito came to Seoul as first Resident-General, an act of great self-sacrifice on his part. He is an old man, the premier statesman of his land, who might well have demanded ease in an honoured old age. Instead he took up the most difficult post his country had to give him.

In July, 1906, the next step was made in the Japanese advance. Since the conclusion of the November treaty, the Japanese had been greatly dissatisfied with the action of the Korean Emperor. They suspected that he was financing revolutionists in various parts of the State. They knew that he was using every effort to escape from their control. They realised that he hated their rule and would do anything possible to overthrow it. Up to now he had been allowed to keep his own troops around his Palace and to live there as he would. On July 2, 1906, the Marquis Ito had an audience with the Emperor and demanded that the Korean police guarding the Palace should be removed and that Government police, under a Japanese head, should take their place. The

Emperor pleaded for delay, but even while he was pleading the Japanese took over the gates. They at once made a rule that no one was to be allowed to enter or to leave the Palace, save upon the order of the Japanese or of the Minister of the Household.

From that time the personal liberties of the Emperor have been more and more curtailed. Large numbers of his personal associates and friends have been sent away. The Japanese claim that they are cleansing the Palace of debauchery, a somewhat ludicrous claim to any one who knows the real life of the Korean Emperor. The aim has been to take from him all control over his money and all association with his friends. It was very shrewdly thought that a steady course of isolation and a daily diet of fear would break the spirit of the monarch. The notion seemed last autumn to have worked out well, for, after months of protest and denunciation, the Emperor was apparently induced late in 1906 to consent to the despatch of a letter of goodwill and friendship to the Emperor of Japan.

But even this letter, if he actually agreed to it, was apparently nothing but a guise. The Japanese now claim that he is still plotting against them. As I write this, the semi-official Japanese papers are full of warnings which can mean nothing except that if the Emperor is not careful he will be dethroned. "The Emperor still encourages the presence of all kinds of charlatans and schemers," said *The Japan Weekly Mail* (Jan. 19, 1907), "and still appears to entertain a conviction that safety for himself and his kingdom is to be secured only by 'kicking against the pricks.' It will be remembered that within the past few days

news has been received of the discovery that a sum of 200,000 yen has been paid out of the imperial exchequer for the purpose of an insurrection in one of the southern provinces, and that the identity of the household official through whose hands the money passed was said to have been ascertained. Whether the rumour be true or false we cannot tell, and indeed we should have imagined that the finances of the Palace were too closely supervised to allow of such large misappropriation. However, the story seems to find credence in Japan, and in its context is recalled an incident which occurred at the farewell party given by Marquis Ito on the eve of his recent departure for Japan. It is related that one of those present composed a couplet in the sense that as the rooks pulled up the seed sown by the farmer and refused to be driven away, they must be treated to a volley. This, though couched in the form of an idle stanza, was regarded as a true reading of the political barometer. The rooks were insatiable and must be destroyed."

So much for the outward happenings in the absorption of Korea. What effect has this change had upon the people themselves? Has it made for good government? How has Japan revealed herself as a capable colonising power? These questions I will deal with in the next chapter.[1]

[1] The protocol between Japan and Korea concluded on February 23 1904, upon which the Koreans relied for the maintenance of their independence, ran as follows :—

Art. I.—For the purpose of maintaining a permanent and solid, friendship between Japan and Korea, and firmly establishing peace in the Far East, the Imperial Government of Korea shall place full confidence in the Imperial Government of Japan, and adopt the advice of the latter in regard to improvements in administration.

Art. II.—The Imperial Government of Japan shall, in a spirit of firm friendship, ensure the safety and repose of the Imperial House of Korea.

Art. III.—The Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire.

Art. IV.—In case the welfare of the Imperial House of Korea, or the territorial integrity of Korea, is endangered by the aggression of a third Power or internal disturbances, the Imperial Government of Japan shall immediately take such necessary measures as circumstances require, and, in such case, the Imperial Government of Korea shall give full facilities to promote all action of the Imperial Japanese Government. The Imperial Government of Japan may, for the attainment of the above-mentioned object, occupy, when the circumstances require it, such places as may be necessary from strategic points of view.

Art. V.—The Governments of the two countries shall not, in the future, without mutual consent, conclude with a third Power such an arrangement as may be contrary to the principles of the present protocol.

Art. VI.—Details in connection with the present protocol shall be arranged as circumstances may demand, between the Representative of Japan and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Korea.

CHAPTER V

THE DREAM OF THE MARQUIS ITO

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IN the summer of 1904 I made a short visit to Japan from Manchuria, taking with me my Korean body-servant, who was then dressed in Korean national garments. Whenever the boy went out into the streets he was surrounded by curious crowds. Time after time he came to me and begged money to enable him to buy foreign clothes. At last I yielded, and he obtained a very smart summer suit of European cut. Thinking to flatter him I remarked:

"Why, boy, you are quite like an Englishman!"

He smiled, but shook his head.

"No, master," he said, "Japanese!" For to him then the Japanese were the supreme people of the world.

In 1906 I revisited the boy's native city, and he came to see me, dressed in European fashion, and well dressed too.

"You look quite like a Japanese," I remarked, having our old conversation in remembrance.

But in place of smiling, he frowned and shook his head. "Korean, master," he said emphatically. "Korean, not Japanese!"

"But why not Japanese?" I asked.

"Master, the Japanese have stolen my country," came the slow, emphatic answer.

That boy was typical. His changed views were but an echo of the alteration in opinion all over the country.

When on a February evening in 1904 I stood on the ice-covered wharves at Chemulpho, the main seaport of Korea, watching the advance-guard of the coming Japanese army disembarking on the mainland of Asia, I saw them with exultation in my heart. The blaze from paraffin and coal fires on the water's edge revealed the sturdy and well-clothed soldiers of the Mikado as they stepped briskly from the lighters to the rocks. I turned to my fellow Europeans there. "At last," we said to one another, "strength and justice have come to Korea." The very natives smiled on the new arrivals. For myself I was proud to be the first white man to greet the Japanese General with words of welcome.

That was three years ago. A little over two years after that memorable February night I travelled again from north to south in Korea. I came across many of my old friends—diplomatic officials, missionaries, teachers, merchants, and natives. In 1904 they had been almost without exception enthusiastic for Japan; in 1906, they were almost as unanimously critical, unsympathetic, and full of denunciation. The change had come because of what they had seen of the methods of Japanese administration. Everywhere, from men of the most varied type, I heard the same story, a tale of oppression, exaction, and wholesale robbery.

When the Japanese first came to Korea, they were received by the common people with sympathy and hope. To-day the common people hate them with

the most intense bitterness. The first cause for this hatred is national. The Koreans say that the Japanese wormed their way among them under the guise of friendship, with fair words and with solemn promises to maintain their independence. Then, having planted their troops all over the land and broken the Korean power, they violated their promises and deprived the nation of its freedom. The more intelligent Koreans admit, as they cannot but admit, that the loss was largely their own fault. Their country relied upon treaty promises in place of national efficiency. It had degenerated and did not deserve to live. And yet the degeneration affected the officials rather than the mass of common people. "If we had only a chance," the men of the north have said to me more than once, "we could show that we are fit to hold our own."

The national aspect is not the only or the most important one. Had the Japanese done justly, and had they behaved fairly to the masses, the wounded national sentiment would have been but a minor danger. The Korean coolie, farmer, and tradesman were tired of being corruptly and cruelly governed, and they would have welcomed any administration, under whatever name, which gave them safety and equitable dealing. But they complain that, cruel and abominable as were the old administrators of their own race, the Japanese are worse.

The Japanese have admittedly brought certain great improvements to the country. They have constructed a fine broad-gauge railway from Fusan to Wiju, intersecting Korea from north to south. This line is well built, its road-bed is good, its bridges are of

steel with solid stone abutments, it has heavy rails, standard broad-gauge 4 ft. 8½ in., Westinghouse air-brakes, and fairly comfortable cars. Other lines are planned, or are now in the course of construction, from Seoul and from Ping-Yang to Gensan on the east coast. There is, further, a little military line of which nothing is being said by the authorities, running from further up the east coast towards Manchuria. Several great military roads have been cut through the country, roads so carefully laid and graded that they can be used if necessary for railways. These roads and the railways have opened up parts hitherto almost inaccessible.

The next great Japanese improvement has been the reform of the currency. This was a very much needed step, for the Korean currency in olden times was bad beyond description. Counterfeiting was almost a regular business, and a very large part of the coinage in circulation was admittedly spurious. The counterfeits were divided into groups—good, medium, bad, and those so bad that they could only be palmed off after dark. Whenever one received a considerable sum of Korean money, it was necessary to engage the services of an expert, who would carefully go over all the coins and pick out the good from the fraudulent. The reform of such a currency was bound to create great confusion, and it did so. There may be a question as to whether Mr. Megata, the Japanese financial adviser to the Korean Government, effected the reform in the easiest and most prudent way, but his reform was good. The trouble in the transformation was temporary—the benefit is permanent.

Something has also been done to assist education, but here I was surprised at the very little progress made. There is much talk of schools of all kinds, but most of the work, so far, seems to have ended in talk. There is a medical school of apparently doubtful utility, and some young Koreans are being taught engineering. A limited number of common schools have been started in the country to teach young Koreans Japanese. In some cases these schools are taught by Japanese military officers. A high Japanese official in Seoul denied to me, in most positive fashion, that it was their intention to teach Japanese in the common Korean schools. "Of course," he said, "we have always meant to give a Korean education in the Korean schools." I went into the country and saw for myself, examining pupils and textbooks. I found that the official was misinformed. There was no attempt to teach Korean; the education was all in Japanese. In one case, where the pupils were all Koreans, the Japanese teacher knew no Korean.

There have been a few minor improvements, of which the suppression of the sorcerers deserves to be noted. These sorcerers undoubtedly did much harm among the people. The army has been reduced and the number of native civil service officials greatly diminished. There has been much talk of increasing the pay of officials in order to avoid the necessity of extortion. Here again what I saw in the country last summer did not point to this being done on a large or effective scale.

One complaint of the Korean people is that the Japanese have taken over the entire machinery of the Government of the country and are using it mainly

and directly for the financial profit of the Japanese people. They are, officially and unofficially, pushing forward schemes of extortion, robbery, and cruelty which in three years have inflicted more actual damage than the worst Government of the old style could have done in thirty years.

The Japanese still maintain a Korean Cabinet and Korean officials in various parts of the country. This Cabinet and these officials are mere puppets, powerless and only useful as dummies for the Japanese. When the Japanese administrators wish to put through a particularly impudent scheme of appropriation, they employ the machinery of the Korean Cabinet. The Japanese profess not to interfere in local administration. It would be more correct to say that they interfere in every branch of local affairs where they can obtain a profit for themselves, and they leave untouched those branches that humanitarianism and civilisation alone would incline them to reform.

One of the earliest acts of the Japanese was to acquire without compensation various branches of local administration where places could be found for their nationals as officials. The finances were taken over by a Japanese and have been shamelessly exploited for the peculiar benefit of the Japanese. Large numbers of Japanese subjects have been engaged at salaries often two or three times as much as they would be given in their own country. The Japanese are being given concessions of every kind, to the exclusion of both Koreans and foreigners. The Korean Government is compelled to borrow money from Japan to be used for the benefit of Japanese subjects in Korea. Thus for instance, nearly two million yen, borrowed from

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

TORTURE IN KOREA DURING THE JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION.
A scene in a prison cell, Sun-chon, July, 1906.

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Japan and charged to the national expenses, are to be employed in providing water-works for the Japanese town of Chemulpho. For some time the Japanese were permitted to smuggle great quantities of goods into Korea, the Japanese Customs officers, paid by the Korean Government, taking no effective preventive measures. Almost every week there come stories of the engagement of Japanese experts at high salaries, the granting of premiums to Japanese officials, the enlistment of additional Japanese policemen, and so on.

The next cause of trouble is one that is even more serious—the wholesale seizure of private land by the Japanese authorities in Korea for their own people. During the war large sections of land were marked out as being required by the Japanese for military purposes. The sections represent some of the most valuable sites in the country, several square miles of the best river-land in the suburbs of Seoul, an immense area outside Ping-Yang, and great districts further north. Very large areas of land were taken all along either side of the railway. In the majority of cases no compensation whatever was paid to the old owners for this land; in other cases the compensation was so inadequate that it meant ruin for the people. The lands seized for military purposes have been kept since the conclusion of peace, and are now being used as settlements for civilian Japanese. By this many thousands of formerly prosperous Korean families have been brought to ruin.

The Japanese authorities attempt to defend themselves over this by claiming that land tenure in Korea is in a very chaotic state. They say that all land

belongs to the Emperor, who has the right to take whatever he pleases without compensation. They are acting on the authority of the Emperor, and therefore have the same right. Even if this were true, the injustice of yesterday under the old Government would not excuse plundering to-day. But it is not true. The system of land tenure was described in 1889 by Dr. Allen, who for many years afterwards was American Minister in Korea. "All unoccupied land belongs to the King," said Dr. Allen, "but any man may take up a homestead, and, after tilling it and paying taxes on it for a period of three years, it becomes his own, and must be purchased should the Government need it."

From the beginning of the war, the Japanese permitted the lowest classes of their subjects to pour over Korea like a flood. These Japanese coolies have behaved with a brutality hard to describe. They have simply terrorised the Korean people. They have robbed them of their lands, have forced them to labour for them at what pay they pleased, and have acted the part of uncontrolled bullies. The Korean magistrates did not dare to control these representatives of the conquering race; the Japanese residents would not. In every part of Korea, from the extreme south to the north, I have heard the same kind of stories about the excesses of the great mass of low-class Japanese in Korea.

It is unfortunate that the Japanese residents sent by their own Government to various parts of Korea seem to consider that their duty is not impartially to administer justice, but to stand up for their own countrymen. Everywhere the Koreans believe that

it is of no use to appeal to the Japanese residents for justice.

If I were to seek to relate in any detail the stories of cruelty done by Japanese coolies, gendarmes, and soldiers in Korea that have been told to me by reliable witnesses, I do not know where I would stop. When I passed through the city of Ping-Yang last July, the missionaries came to me on the midday of Sunday, and asked if I would speak to the great congregation of about fifteen hundred people that would assemble there that afternoon. "Why do you not have your regular preacher?" I asked. "Our chief native minister was to have taken the service," they told me, "but yesterday afternoon four Japanese soldiers entered his house. They went towards his women's quarter, and when he tried to stop them they fell on him and beat him so badly that he cannot move out of the house." When that afternoon I stood before that great throng, the women to my left and the men to my right, the question seemed to come up from the crowd, "What can we, a people not skilled in arms and not used to fighting, do with this stern warrior race over us?"

As a second example, let me quote from the report of an American missionary in another district in the north, a man known to me.

"The chief source of our problems this year," he writes, "has been the Japanese oppression. The various evils carried on under the name of Japanese occupancy would take too long to enumerate, but a few ought to be mentioned. The seizure of Korean property both by soldiers and civilians, without compensation, still goes on. This is particularly true of

the railroad, which is constantly making arbitrary changes in its course, involving the seizure of a new right of way, and the ejection of another set of Korean proprietors from their houses and lands. Forced labour is still continued in many places, though the revolt against it has compelled the payment of wages in many parts of the province. This is due largely to the stand made by the Church, encouraged of course by the missionary in charge. In the districts where the Christians are in a majority, the labourers organised and refused to work without pay. The heathen took heart from the Christians' example, and, though there were many thrashings and outrages, in the places where the Koreans were firm the Japanese gradually gave in and began to pay wages. This victory of the infant Church marks an epoch. . . .

"The forestry concession is another source of trouble. The chief end of this iniquity seems to be the cutting of every piece of standing timber larger than a walking-cane, and the monopoly of any and all lumber produced in Korea. Consequently many proprietors of wooded grave sites or other pieces of timber land have found themselves totally unable to protect their property."

Encouraged by their freedom, the Japanese coolies and soldiers often assumed a very hostile and offensive attitude to white people. Last summer I heard many complaints of assaults from Europeans and American men and women whom I knew to be peaceable, quiet, and law-abiding citizens. It was practically impossible to secure redress from the Japanese authorities for these outrages, every difficulty being placed in the way of identifying the culprits. The brutal and

unprovoked ill-treatment of Mr. and Mrs. Weigall, and the assaults on the Roman Catholic Bishop, the American Consul-General, American missionary ladies, and many others, are cases in point.

I know that this reign of terror has excited resentment among some of the Japanese people themselves. My one hope for real improvement is that the mass of better-class people in Japan will realise what is taking place and will demand of their authorities a stricter hand over the young soldiers and coolies. I at first could not believe the details of some of the stories told me. I had known the Japanese soldier in war, brave, chivalrous, well-disciplined, and scrupulously honest. It seemed to me impossible that men wearing the Japanese uniform should be guilty of such extortion, corruption, torture, and stupid cruelty. What I saw for myself compelled me, however, to change my opinion.

The most amazing thing about the Japanese administration so far has been its inefficiency. It has not, for instance, succeeded in controlling brigandage or in maintaining order. There have been during the past winter more robberies in the very heart of the country and at the gates of the capital than ever before. Every effort to make the guard tighter around the Korean Emperor has not been able to stop the intrigues which go on among the old officials. Corruption is still common, and the worst abominations of the old prison system are maintained as before.

Another side of the Korean administration which is open to much criticism is the way in which the Japanese have permitted their subjects to establish business destructive to the health and morals of the

native population. In Japan itself the consumption of opium is strictly forbidden and in Korea up to the time the Japanese entered it the same rule applied. To-day Japanese pedlars are going all over the north selling morphia freely. They have created a great trade and the harm they have done is not easily measured.

Last summer my attention was called to the state of the prisons, and I visited two of them, both in towns under the control of Japanese residents. In the first, at Ping-Yang, I found eighteen men and one woman confined in one cell. Some of the men were fastened to the ground by wooden stocks. The prisoners were emaciated and their bodies showed plain signs of horrible disease. Their clothing was of the poorest, the cell was indescribably filthy, and several of the men had been confined there, without exercise and without employment, for years. One man had been six years in the cell.

The second prison I visited, at Sun-chon, was much worse. In the inner room there—so dark that for some moments I could see nothing—I found three men fastened flat on the ground, their heads and feet in stocks, and their hands tied together. The room had no light or ventilation, save from a small hole in the wall. The men's backs were fearfully scarred from beatings. Their arms were cut to the bone in many places by the ropes that had been tightly bound around them, and the wounds thus made were suppurating freely. The upper parts of the limbs were swollen. Great weals and blisters could be seen on their flesh. One man's eyes were closed, and the sight gone, heavy suppuration oozing from the closed

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Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

TORTURE IN KOREA DURING THE JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION.
Prisoner in courtyard, Sun-chon, July, 1906.

lids. Presumably the eyes had been knocked in by blows. The men had lain thus confined, without moving, for days.

I had them brought out into the sunshine. It was difficult work. One of them had already largely lost the use of his limbs, owing to their contraction. They were all starved, and they were so broken that they had not even spirit to plead, save to utter a few low cries. The place was the nearest approach to hell I have ever seen. Since my return to England word has reached me that one of the men died from the ill-treatment a few days after I left.

While in Japan last summer I had the privilege of a long interview with the Marquis Ito, the Resident-General and head of the Japanese administration. The Marquis Ito is, as all the world knows, the greatest and most famous of the elder statesmen of Japan. He himself would, I know, be the last to approve of such abuses.

As the Marquis unfolded his plans for the improvement of Korea, my heart rose. There was to be reform, justice, and conciliation. Any mistakes in the past were to be remedied. "I feel that I stand midway between the Koreans and my own people, to see justice done to both," the Marquis declared.

Standing in the cell at Sun-chon, I recalled those words, and, despite the strength, sincerity, and high purpose of the Marquis, they seemed little better than a hollow mockery.

CHAPTER VI

MANCHURIA AFTER THE WAR

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I MADE two journeys through Manchuria in 1906. The first, in July and August, was from Antung to Moukden over the new mountain railway, and thence southwards to Yingkow. The second journey, later in the year, was from Port Arthur to Liaoyang and Harbin, and on by the Siberian railway to Irkutsk.

Two new towns have arisen during the past eighteen months on either side of the River Yalu, at the terminus of the Seoul-Wiju Railway. On the Korean side is the town of Sin-Wiju, about four miles south of old Wiju. This is a purely Japanese settlement, on the edge of a small Korean village. There are large military saw-mills and timber stacks on the river bank. A station of the Korean Customs was established there in the summer of 1906. There are several Japanese hotels and bath-houses, and a number of shops.

At present the only way of crossing the river is by boat, but a great railway bridge is to be constructed at this point. From Antung itself a new mountain railway, constructed by the Japanese during the war, crosses the Motienling range to Moukden, a distance of about one hundred and eighty miles. This railway, with its thirty-inch-gauge track, is of very little importance from a commercial point of view, for its carrying

capacity is very small. A broad-gauge line is now in course of construction, and when it is completed it will be possible to land troops from Japan at Fusan, in the south of Korea, and carry them to the heart of Manchuria, without change of cars, in less than three days from the hour they march out of their barracks in Central Japan.

New Antung is situated just outside the Chinese city. The Japanese have laid out roadways for quite a large town, and when I landed there the place had about five thousand Japanese inhabitants. A great earthen embankment was being constructed around the new settlement, to keep out the river at its highest flood, and everywhere there was ceaseless activity. The new streets are broad and the many Japanese stores were well stocked with Japanese goods. There were the inevitable bath-houses and theatres. Japanese carpenters, skilled and dexterous men, were busy constructing dwellings from flimsy boards. A screen or two, a roll of matting, and a paper window soon made each little house look home-like. The Japanese have laid down a narrow-gauge tramway, pushed by man power, from the old Chinese town to the new settlement.

The Chinese city of Antung is of far more interest, in many ways, than the new settlement. It is a busy and important commercial centre, with a population said to number over sixty thousand. Hundreds of Chinese junks can be seen at any time lying along the river banks, or unloading their cargoes at the wharves. These junks do a considerable trade between Antung and Chefoo and other Chinese and Korean coast towns. Antung boasts that it has eighty large and 470 small

Photographs by F. A. McKenzie.

THE ANTUNG-MOUKDEN RAILWAY.

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merchants. The streets near the river are full of the great "hongs" of the merchants, monster warehouses packed with goods. The streets are made gay by striking decorative signs, big poles twenty feet high, in black and gold, beautifully ornamented, and standing straight up in the street, announcing the names and wares of the shopkeepers. On the hills around the city are some fine modern temples, fitted up in costly fashion. I had made friends with the chief priest of the principal of these temples when last visiting Antung, and he invited me on my arrival to use one of the outer courts as my home during my stay. I did so. The surroundings were novel and bizarre. In the court to my right stood the God of War, a great and fearsome mounted figure, with two guardians, ready to be led out at any time. In the covered chapel close to my door the River God rested, and here, morning after morning, at an early hour, the fishermen and traders would assemble at the summons of a harmonious gong, and would chant, bow and kow-tow, afterwards coming into the yard and firing off crackers to frighten away evil spirits.

I found business in the Chinese city somewhat depressed. The people were very bitter against the Japanese. The common folk complained of the harshness and bullying tactics of the Japanese coolies, and the traders were incensed by the open greed of the authorities. The city was still under military administration, and responsible Japanese civilians openly expressed their regret to me at some of the methods the military had adopted. "We have spent hundreds of millions on this war,' said one of the leading Japanese. "If we hope to reap the full fruits of our victory we

must retain the good-will of the people. Yet in order to raise a hundred thousand yen or so our military officials impose unpopular taxes and cause general discontent. They have lost sense of proportion."

There was much grumbling about the seizure of river land by the Japanese for their settlement. The Chinese were also incensed by the Japanese monoplies that were being established. The boat in which I had crossed the river landed at Japanese monopoly steps, and the cross river traffic was managed by a Japanese company. The little narrow-gauge tramway represented another Japanese enterprise. Japanese coolies were competing with Chinese coolies for all kinds of manual work, and the industrial rivalry was severe.

The two main complaints were about the Japanese Customs' privileges and the taxation of the Yalu timber trade. The Chinese merchants declared that it was more and more difficult to compete with the new Japanese merchants, because while the Chinese had to pay both full Customs' duty at the ports from which they took their goods and *likin* (local customs) at Antung, the Japanese paid neither. It was easy to see the effect of this Japanese tariff privilege on local trade. When I first visited Antung in 1904, the Chinese shops displayed large quantities of British and American goods ; now I found that in line after line Japanese manufactures had taken their place.

Antung is a great centre of the timber trade, tapping as it does the forests of the Yalu. These forests represent phenomenal wealth. Acquaintances of my own who explored the upper reaches of the river last year tell me that they will bear comparison with some of the finest timber tracks in Western

America. It will be remembered that the Russian timber concession on the Yalu was one of the ostensible causes leading up to the war. It has been the custom in the past for Chinese merchants in Antung to form small syndicates for felling the timber. They equipped and despatched parties of woodsmen to bring down raft-loads. The Japanese military administration at Antung saw in this timber trade a possible source of revenue. It bought great quantities of the cargoes at prices fixed by itself—and there was a considerable margin of difference between its estimate of value and that of the timber merchants—it demanded one log out of every eleven brought down, and it imposed a tax for military protection on each length of wood cut. This for the time practically killed the trade. When I was in Antung everything pointed to the intention of the Japanese to monopolise the timber rights. They would be of great value to them. Cheap timber is essential to several industries in Northern China; and with control of the Yalu forests in addition to their home supplies, the Japanese will so be able to regulate the price in the Far East that the dependent industries will be in their hands. For instance, a cheapening of the price of wood in Japan and an increase in China would kill the Chinese match trade. No doubt the timber monopoly will be carried out under a slight disguise. Probably a nominal Chino-Japanese company will be established, a very transparent device which the Japanese have adopted in other directions in their hunt for domination.

While Antung is an important Chinese trading centre, it does not possess the high commercial value which its geographical position has been thought by

some to give it. It carries on an extensive trade in raw silk cocoons, and probably the Japanese will soon establish silk mills there, to the detriment of Chefoo. But its capacity as a distributing centre for foreign goods is limited. Its shipping and wharf facilities are poor. Ships with a draught of more than eight feet cannot come up to the wharves, for the river, while very broad, is also very shallow. Beyond Antung the limit is six feet. Antung itself is only suitable as a distributing centre for Manchuria, not for Korea. The country immediately behind it is exceedingly mountainous, sparsely populated, and very difficult to reach. The one town of any size between it and Liaoyang is Feng-Fang-Cheng, about thirty-three miles from Antung. Directly northwards there are practically no towns of any size whatever within easy reach. The country up the River Yalu, while potentially rich, is difficult of access, and is not yet fully open for commerce. It is far from safe and is inhabited by a race of mountaineers and woodsmen whose lawlessness is notorious in Eastern Asia.

This belt of territory was for long the no-man's land of the East. It was officially recognised by both China and Korea as the bandit region, the lawless border for which neither was responsible. This continued until quite modern times, when Li Hung Chang, acting for the Chinese Government, determined to establish settled government there. But the traditions of centuries of disorder are not soon wiped out. Gangs of venturesome Chinamen still avail themselves of every opportunity for plunder. They will make a daring raid on one side of the river, and will then

slip over to the other side until the hue and cry has died down. The Japanese found it necessary to keep bodies of troops in some of the up-river towns last year, and even then they could not deal effectively with the bandits. Travel up the Yalu is made more difficult owing to the number of rapids. The river region was very little known, until careful Japanese surveying parties mapped it out. On my journey I took with me a map produced under the auspices of a leading English newspaper by a famous firm of cartographers, and published in 1904 at half a guinea. I found that it was woefully out in many details, tributary streams being drawn in wrong directions, and towns being misplaced. This was not the fault of the cartographers. Accurate surveys had not up to that time been available.

When I left Antung for the north, the Japanese military administration permitted me to travel over the new mountain railway to Moukden. The journey was of special interest, for I had marched over much of the same way with Kuroki's victorious army. The mountain railway takes exceedingly sharp rises, and its curves are of the shortest. It twines like a snake. Now you are running along a valley; an hour later you find yourself on the top of a great range of hills, having travelled round and round a hill in the upward ascent. At some points there are four lines of rails at different levels on one hill-side. Progress on such a line is naturally very slow. I started from Antung between five and six o'clock on the one morning and reached halfway to Moukden about seven in the evening. My train set out again soon after five on the following morning, reaching its

destination at half-past six at night. This meant an average speed of less than seven miles an hour.

The Antung-Moukden railway is not to be taken too seriously, for its locomotives cannot haul more than a very few tons of freight. Railway reformers will be interested to know that it strictly maintains class distinctions. There are first, second, and third class sections. The third-class passengers sit in open trucks. The first and second class have one narrow covered van between them, with wooden seats running longways. The first and second classes are divided by a bit of string fastened across the centre of the car.

When I took my place on the train in the morning a young Japanese in uniform came and sat by me. He informed me in hesitating English that the colonel commanding the railways had sent him to accompany and help me along. That young man never let me out of his sight for a single minute until I settled in Moukden. On the first night, when we stopped half-way and slept in an empty Japanese house, I was given one room and he the next. About two in the morning I got up, went outside and looked at the valley below, lit up by the moonlight. As I gazed at the impressive scenery, a voice called my name. I glanced round, and saw the officer standing by my side, fully dressed. He had resolved that no harm should happen to me while I was in his charge.

The country along the line of the mountain railway showed at many points houses and villages destroyed. There were block-houses for the Japanese soldiers at intervals of every few miles—usually square compounds with dwelling-houses on one side and stables and a cook-shop on the other. The white walls and general

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Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

VIEW ON THE ANTUNG-MOUKDEN RAILWAY, SHOWING JAPANESE MILITARY BLOCKHOUSE.

YEARBOOK LIBRARY

air of cleanliness of these Japanese military stations was very refreshing after the untidiness of the Chinese homes. In most of the Chinese villages one found Japanese men and girls. Thriving crops of kiaoliang and maize in the valleys between the hills showed that the peasantry were already recovering from the effects of the war and military occupation. One found frequent traces of the great armies that had been there not many months before. Every station had a Russian military boiler outside it, with a fire underneath, giving a constant supply of hot water. Great stacks of fodder and provisions could be seen at the main stations, supplies left behind by the army and waiting to be taken down to the coast.

I was glad to reach Moukden. To be cooped up for two days in very hot weather in a crowded and comfortless baby railway carriage is not the most delightful experience at the best of times. To me it was especially trying just then, for I had been poisoned by some organic matter in the Antung drinking-water, and was more fit for a hospital than travel. I found a Japanese hotel where I was accommodated for ten yen (£1) a day. Next morning I went out to explore the city, and fell into the kindly hands of Mr. Turley, of the British and Foreign Bible Society. But for his care, Moukden would probably have been my permanent resting-place.

Eight years ago Moukden was nothing but a name to the outside world. A few missionaries lived there and occasionally an adventurous traveller saw and described its great walls and massive tombs. Since 1900 the city has been a centre of world drama. Russia opened it to the west by the Siberian railway;

it was an important point in the Boxer rising; it was a field for diplomatic struggle over the growth of Russian influence in Manchuria, and in the early days of 1906 it was the scene of the greatest battle in the history of the world. To-day it is one of the points where China and Japan are silently and politely contesting for the ownership of the province in the north.

The railway station is no longer the luxurious place it was under the Russian administration. The broad-gauge, well-fitted cars of the old time have made room for narrow and uncomfortable coaches. In place of the old Russian buffet, with its hundred-and-one European luxuries, you now obtain food from filthy Chinese and Japanese coolies who peddle apples, hard-boiled eggs, dough-cakes, and Ashai beer.

The great road between the station and the town, over three miles long, has sentry-boxes freely distributed on it, at intervals of every hundred or two hundred yards. In each sentry-box is a Chinese policeman, armed with rifle and bayonet. The constables look very workmanlike and imposing, until you examine them more closely. One police-inspector complained to me that his men's weapons were so bad and of such old pattern that it took them five minutes to fire one shot. "If six of my constables came upon one robber," he said, "the robber would be able to ride off to safety before one of the police could load and pull his trigger."

One little reform meets you on entering the city. A notice at the gateways warns you that you are no longer permitted to drive on any side of the archways

that you like. Even pedestrians must leave through the city gates to the left and come in by the right—a rule which, owing to the immense size of the gates, sometimes gives one a quarter of a mile farther to walk than in olden times.

Reform has started in the yamen of the Tartar Governor-General himself. The Peking Government, realising that it must do something if it is to keep Manchuria for itself, has sent several of the keenest and brightest of its younger officials here. The Tartar-General had last summer as his adviser in foreign affairs Mr. M. T. Liang, certainly one of the most capable of the younger Cantonese who are rising into power. Liang was formerly a railway official, and worked his way up to a directorship of the railways. He speaks English with the utmost fluency, and although he has never visited England he is in intimate touch with all our affairs. His son is in one of the great English public schools.

Two years ago, streets of houses around the Tartar-General's yamen were all occupied by dignified and obese officials of State, who effectually put the skid on the wheels of progress. There were many Boards. The Board of Rites, with its mandarins and secretaries and high officials and runners, moved in an unvarying round; the Board of Dignities, with an equal host of officials, daily did its momentous work; others, whose very names are now forgotten, faithfully fulfilled the tasks of the Circumlocution Office.

To-day they have all vanished. A small body of smart secretaries does the work, under the immediate direction of the Viceroy. There is no time for red tape. Some officials are planning the macadamising of

the main roads; others are arranging for the repair of the city walls; still others are promoting the success of schools, or social institutions, or clubs for the free discussion of national affairs. The one message dinned into the ears of the rich merchants of Moukden is, "Wake up for the sake of China!"

Mr. Hagiwara, the very able Consul-General of Japan, who has a group of offices outside the city wall, must be mentioned. He is one of the younger generation of Japanese statesmen, is intensely ambitious for his country, and conveys the impression underneath his winning exterior of being the man who would not allow trifles to stand in his way. I first met him in Korea before the outbreak of the Russian War, where Mr. Hayashi and he were playing the game against M. Pavloff, the Russian Minister, with consummate skill. For the next two years, whenever any specially strong advance in Japanese demands was made in Korea, Hagiwara's influence could be felt. On the November day in 1905 when the surrender of Korean independence was extorted from the trembling Emperor and Ministers at Seoul, Hagiwara showed the iron hand most plainly. When the Korean Prime Minister refused to yield to entreaties or threats, and tried to approach his Emperor's chamber, it was Hagiwara who gripped hold of him, flung him into a room, kept him there, and allowed the impression to sink into his fellow Ministers' minds that Han Kew Sul had been murdered, and that they also would be slain if they did not give way.

Personally, Mr. Hagiwara is one of the most winning men in the Far East. But, despite his personal charm, the Chinese are not blind to the

significance of his leaving the chief secretaryship of a legation to accept a consul-generalship. "Hayashi and Hagiwara took her independence away from Korea," they say. "To-day Hayashi is Minister in Peking, and Hagiwara is head of the Japanese in Manchuria. Have they been sent to do the same work here?"

Students with ambitions to be officials are being shaken out of their national placidity. At a recent Civil Service Examination the usual papers on Chinese classics were given and finished. Then the Tartar-General paid a visit to the examination halls. "To-morrow," he said, "I will set a final paper, which you must all answer. It will be on the progress of Western science." Most of the students had no ideas whatever about Western science. They found out that there were some Western men in the city, missionaries, so they made a rush for them, cleared out the educational books in the missionary shops, and started to cram up Western learning in a night.

I have called Moukden the city of tears. To me it is so because of the tragedies to white men and women there. Shortly before 1900, groups of Russian officials and their wives came down and settled in Moukden. When the Boxers arose a number of the Russian men and ladies were seized and horribly tortured. One of the most beautiful of the Russian women was said long afterwards to be still concealed in the home of an unknown mandarin, where she had been hurried into captivity. The Roman Catholics at that time gathered their converts and priests and nuns in their cathedral, and attempted an active

defence. The Chinese brought up artillery, and slaughtered every one. The Presbyterian missionaries had a very successful work in Moukden. They were obliged to flee the city in varied disguises; some perished, and many of their converts died under torture. When all was over they refused to demand punishment for their enemies, and declined all compensation save a ridiculously small sum for their burned-out hospitals and homes. To-day they are hard at work again.

From then till now Moukden has been a tragic city for the white race. Here was writ in the sky, in the bitter March days of 1905, for all the world to read, that the influence of the West is on the wane, at least for the time, in the Orient. Here Oku, with his twenty-five thousand heroes—having left twenty thousand dead or wounded behind—paused triumphantly while Kuropatkin and his broken and dispirited army retreated before him.

CHAPTER VII

JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS AND CHINESE ROBBERS

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IN Antung, in Moukden, and in many other parts I heard constant and detailed complaints of the conduct of the Japanese immigrants. Large numbers of these are people of the very lowest class. This is admitted by the Japanese themselves, and is sometimes raised by them as an excuse for their conduct. Quacks, gambling-house keepers, and women of ill-fame have settled in the new territory literally by the thousand. In Moukden they were especially prominent. One could not go through the streets of the city in the evening without noticing the well-lit and open-doored Japanese houses waiting for their prey. Sometimes the keepers would be standing without, calling aloud to the Chinese passers-by for custom. The Japanese gambling-dens were all over the city. The Chinese authorities had no power to deal with these pests, and the Japanese officials winked at their presence.

Quite apart from questions of morality, I could not understand why an alert and clever people like the Japanese do not realise that in thus allowing open trade in their own flesh and blood as the victims of a subordinate people, they are striking a serious blow at their national prestige. The effect on Chinese opinion of the presence of the lawless Japanese is exceedingly

bad. "What are we to think of a nation that will shamelessly sell its daughters to other people?" respectable Chinese asked. "The Japanese profess to come to teach us reform and a higher civilisation. And then they bring us that!" An expressive gesture would point to the brothel-keepers and their victims.

The Chinese had expected very different things. The Japanese won golden opinions from the common people in the war of 1894–5. When the Japanese armies advanced over Southern Manchuria the cowering natives anticipated outrage, torture, and death. But the Japanese, while behaving with great severity even to the wounded on the battle-fields, treated the ordinary inhabitants with marked fairness. The massacre at Port Arthur was the exception which proved the rule. The people in Manchuria found in 1895 that the Japanese conquerors gave them the best government they had ever had. They looked for the same in 1905. But to-day the Japanese are hated in Manchuria only a degree less than in Korea. There are several reasons for this. The Japanese troops during the recent campaign dealt with merciless rigour with all persons suspected of having aided the Russians in any way. Chinamen were shot on the barest suspicion. The military police were frequently given a free hand, and their tender mercies were very cruel. At Liaoyang, for instance, they at one time suspected the inhabitants of sending information to the Russians. An open box was put in a public place for anonymous informers against spies. In two cases which I verified the police behaved with fiendish cruelty. They took one boy of about eleven, and half roasted him in front of a fire, to make him confess where his father was. They laid hold of a

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

CHINESE PRISONER AND JAPANESE JAILOR,
CHANGFU, MANCHURIA, SEPT., 1906.

woman and bade her tell where her husband had gone. The woman did not know and so could not tell. They stripped her, and beat her about the breasts and on the body until they drove her mad.

I heard many such tales. In another case I was showing a foreign-trained doctor a portrait of a man who had been handed over by Japanese soldiers to a Korean jailor and had been badly tortured. The doctor looked at the pustular arms, and nodded his head.

"His arms are gangrened," he said. "The ropes that the soldiers tied him up with cut right into the flesh."

"Yes," I replied, "but how can you tell that?"

"I had a very similar case under my care," the doctor replied. "A Japanese railway man employed a number of Chinese coolies on construction work. He tried to cheat the coolies out of their wages. One of them went up to him and protested. The railway man and a gendarme took him and bound him up so tightly that the ropes cut into the flesh of his arms around the elbows. Gangrene supervened. When the victim was released he came to me. But I could do little, and both arms had to be cut off."

I print opposite this page a photo taken by myself at Chan-Chung-fu in September last. A Chinese coolie is shown there tightly tied up so that he could not move a limb, and with his head held aloft by his pig-tail being fastened to the upper beam. He was lashed securely against a heavy, sloping beam, and was left out in the very hot sun to frizzle. This was a comparatively mild case. In Manchuria the less responsible Japanese are in some cases carrying out the same plans they are using in Korea, methods of sheer terrorism.

At Moukden the one common subject of conversation

was the Hung-hutzes, the bandits. Each afternoon one would see little parties of Chinese cavalry riding outside the city into the country. If you inquired where they were going, you would be told that they were searching for Hung-hutzes. The people pointed with confidence to the earthen wall encircling the suburbs of the city. No Hung-hutzes, they would declare, could get up it, and so a raid on the city was impossible.

Farmers and traders who arrived from the interior were bitter in their complaints that the Hung-hutzes were ceasing to carry on their business in a legitimate and decent manner. Every one recognised that the bandit who works according to established convention has his place in properly organised society just as the insurance agent, the lawyer, or the shopkeeper has his. Up to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War there were generally recognised rules of the game which the Manchurian bandits observed. It was a point of honour that they should never attack high officials, women, or children. It was understood that they were never actually to kill when they possibly could avoid it, unless the person had made himself very disagreeable to them; it was further understood that a business man could protect himself from their attentions by paying a reasonable amount for burglary insurance to the bandit agents. So long as the bandits confined themselves to plundering the lines of carts carrying the goods of merchants no great harm was done. Merchants were rich and could easily make up for their loss.

"But now," said the people to me indignantly, "the Hung-hutzes are carrying on in most outrageous fashion. They have better guns than ever before, for the

Russians and Japanese both employed and armed them during the war. They have lost all sense of proper behaviour, and they seem to delight in injuring high officials whenever they have the chance! They show no moderation and no respect for any social obligations!"

It is only by travelling on horseback through the interior away from the towns that one really finds how grave this bandit problem is. In village after village between Liaoyang and Moukden I came across a strong central castle with great courtyards, high crenellated walls, heavy iron-shod gates, and loop-holes for riflemen and spearsmen. The inhabitants desert their houses and pour into these castles whenever bandit armies approach. The bandits move in gangs of any number from twenty to several hundreds. They are splendidly mounted and are kept under thorough discipline by their chiefs. In most places they had up to the time of the beginning of the war a kind of understanding with the authorities. The bandit chief permitted a certain number of his weakest men to be captured each year, and these were duly tortured and executed—thus demonstrating the zeal and power of the mandarins. The latter, on the other hand, rarely attacked the leaders of the bandits unless forced to do so by pressure from Peking, and in turn themselves were let alone.

A friend of my own was travelling around the Kirin district when the local authorities insisted upon giving him an escort of two soldiers, miserably armed and badly mounted. The traveller knew that there was a band of a hundred and fifty bandits roaming over the province, and he wondered what good two soldiers would be. So he spoke to his escort.

"Supposing that we met the bandits, what could you do? You are not strong enough to fight them."

"Of course we could not fight them," one of the soldiers replied. "We would not try to do so. We would go up to the bandit captain and tell him that you are under our charge. 'If you rob or injure this man,' we would say, 'we will be punished, and put to death. Now, you be our friend, and let him go unhurt. Some day, who knows? you may want a friend. Misfortune may come to your band and you may be a prisoner. Stand by us now, and if dark days come to you we will stand by you.' The captain would know that I spoke truly," the man concluded in simple fashion. "He would do you no harm."

At times there have been rulers of cities and provinces who refused to be bound by this understanding. There was such a governor in Kirin not many years ago, and he was reputed to capture and execute an average of no less than two thousand Hung-hutzes a year. Every attempt to compromise with him came to nothing. At last the governor, after many years of dignified power, retired and sent the entire amount of his savings in silver and silks and jewels to Peking by road. The procession of carts was heavily guarded by troops. The bandits all round united and organised their forces. They fell on the troops, fought them and drove them off, capturing the governor's entire savings. He was a ruined man, and in consideration of his great misfortune the Peking authorities allowed him to retain his governorship for a longer term. But during this second term the Hung-hutzes were left alone. The governor stated that it had been borne in on his mind that he must exercise mercy and gentleness to all.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM PORT ARTHUR TO HARBIN

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I PITY the man who can stand upon the summit of 203 metre hill at Port Arthur to-day without having his very soul racked by overwhelming and conflicting emotions. The ground around is already caving in, for the vast masses of the dead buried there are crumbling and turning to dust. Odd remnants of battle, milk tins made into bells, cartridges, bullets, and fused portions of high explosive shells and hand grenades, lie about. On every side is one vast panorama of mountains, their approaches marked by lines of shelter trenches, creeping towards the summits. The monster forts, and the strong hill positions, Shuishi and Itzeshan to one's right, and Siuchiatun away to the left, show in their mouldering sides the hell man endured on this spot. In the military museum in the town you can gaze at a pair of official photographs of the scene a-top of the hill immediately after the capture. The ghastly heaps of dead, wounded, and dying, the tremendous commingling of tortured humanity, the faces worked up to express culminating hate, aspiration, and endeavour, once seen can never be forgotten. The two Russian crosses on the hill-top tell their silent message: the winds, sweeping across the unbroken heavens, seem to waft around the lingering phantoms of the hundred thousand dead.

I admit, let those laugh who will, that I visited

Port Arthur and Tairen with profound melancholy. It seemed to me as I went through street after street and fort after fort, and then travelled up the captured railway, that I had come to the great point where Eastern and Western civilisation met, and where Western civilisation had been rolled back. Port Arthur itself in the autumn of 1906 was still a ruin. The buildings that had been in process of construction when the siege began were left untouched, with their scaffolding still around them. House after house, in the heart of the town, showed the effect of the shell fire. There were great holes in the walls, sides of buildings torn away, the corner of a hospital cut off, and ruin and desolation everywhere. At the mouth of the harbour the masts of the Japanese boats that had been bravely run in to block the exit way still stood up in the water. The Japanese authorities seem to have done very little to restore the place. Low tide shows the rusting frame of a beached and broken Russian destroyer.

One thought inevitably of the days that are passed. What a life it was in Port Arthur in those old days, the days of four years ago! Early coffee at eleven in the morning, breakfast at 4 p.m., dinner at any time between 11 p.m. and 3 a.m., and bed at any hour. Life seemed one endless round of champagne, of songs, of dances, of entertainments, and of gaiety. There was money for every man with influence; contracts with great profits attached were to be had, posts were to be filled and perquisites were to be claimed. Why should the officer trouble about drill and discipline when there were ladies to entertain, wine to be drunk, and good fellowship to be emphasised? The army of

parasites and hawks had gathered. There were the Jewish contractors, sleek, ingratiating, and hateful, making good fortunes, soon to be paid for by the blood of Russian peasants. There were the ladies of the half world, summoned from three continents—the daughter of California, graceful and with some remnants of modesty still left, side by side with the hardened and polished young woman of seventeen from Buda-Pest. There was Bettina! Most of those who worshipped her now lie in the mouldering earth around, but some are still left who mutter of her glories when in their cups at night-time on Siberian steppes or in Caucasian fort. Bettina was the queen of all. Her life was a wonder; and as she minced on her diamond-strewn way, now mistress of a governor, now auctioning herself night by night to the highest bidder, the little world around looked and wondered. Then came the guns—no play salute this! Where are they all now? The gay young officer is dust, the contractor is already in the hell that comes to all who sell their souls for gold, and Bettina slinks down a side street in Shanghai, her diamonds vanished, herself a ruin.

Tairen, the Dalny of old, is busy, and here an air of retrogression is seen all around. One seems to have gone back to an earlier stage of civilisation. The men who occupy the fine Russian houses do not know how to use them; the comforts and amenities of civilisation, as we understand them, are being destroyed, simply because the Japanese traders and soldiers cannot comprehend them. One turns away with a sharp pang from a little Russian chapel, nicely decorated, now used as a loafing-place for Chinese coolies. A new Japanese

town is already building up here, and the great station is full of trucks for goods.

The railway northwards was once a marvel of comfort. Its broad-gauge trains, its sleepers and dining-cars, its music-rooms and its luxury, were the wonder of the East. All that has gone. The Japanese have changed the gauge, making it narrower, and have put on it some of the worst and dirtiest rolling stock I have ever met, in a fairly wide experience. The cars are foul beyond description. The trains are crowded with Japanese merchants and adventurers travelling towards the interior. Among the many merits of the Japanese, the capacity to handle a railway to the best advantage is not one. In September the railway was only open as far as Chang-fu, and it took thirty-six hours to cover a little under four hundred miles. The accommodation was primitive, and food supply was a problem. In place of the old Russian buffets, you now obtained eatables of wonderful variety from frowsy Chinese and Japanese coolies.

Under the Treaty of Portsmouth, the Japanese took over the whole of the Siberian railway up to Chang-chung-fu, and they have the power to build a line covering the short distance between their terminus and Kirin. This affords them access to the great markets of Central Manchuria. The Russians retain in their hands the three sections, from Manchuria to Harbin, 585 miles, from Harbin to Pogranichnaya, on the Vladivostock side, 339 miles, and from Harbin southwards to Chang-chung-fu, 147 miles. From a commercial point of view, the Japanese have secured for themselves the vital part. Commanding, as they do, Chang-chung-fu and Kirin, they will be able to

cover Manchuria and Mongolia with their manufactures, from the most convenient distributing centres.

I endeavoured, in travelling through the country, to obtain some light upon the situation in the rival Russian and Japanese forces at the time immediately before the conclusion of peace. Very little has so far been permitted to leak out about what was going on then. The system of censorship and the blinding of correspondents and attachés was carried to a greater point of perfection by the Japanese after their experience in the stormy days of 1904; and in the summer of 1905 the foreigners attached to the armies were allowed to see nothing of any consequence. They were carefully prevented from intercommunicating and comparing notes, and they were kept in Manchurian villages under such conditions that they learned little more than if they had been at home. I have gathered up the experiences of my colleagues with the different armies during the idle summer after the battle of Moukden, and on certain points there is remarkable agreement. The Japanese in striking their great blow practically exhausted their strength. After the battle of Moukden they simply rested and waited, holding the line of country, starting to the west of Chang-fu in Mongolia, and sweeping down in the direction of Chiu-kia-Chang, not far from the Korean frontier. They showed marked apathy in pushing on and completing their reconstruction of the captured railway line north of Moukden. They made no serious attempts to cut off Vladivostock, evidently recognising that it was impossible for a nation, however brave, to have two Port Arthur sieges in one war. The reinforcements which arrived in 1905 were not of

the same class as the men who had fought and won the great battles. Japan was clearly drawing upon her second lines of reserves.

There was another factor, which was carefully kept from the knowledge of both attachés and correspondents. Details came to me at various points which all showed that the ravages of beri-beri among the Japanese forces were much more serious than has ever yet been permitted to transpire. When I was with the Japanese forces in 1904 there was some trouble from this disease, and the medical authorities were seeking by every means in their power to combat it. Evidently beri-beri claimed many more victims in the final summer. Friends of my own, themselves enthusiastic advocates of the Japanese cause, spent part of 1905 on the line of route where all the Japanese sick and wounded from one army had to be carried down, and where they came in touch with them. They assure me that the men passing through their village, stricken fatally with beri-beri, in this one army alone—I cannot mention its name, as it would be inconvenient to give a clue to my informants—could not have amounted to less than a thousand. At Moukden and elsewhere all that I could learn went to support this statement. If this applied also to other armies, it would help to explain the quiescence of the main Japanese forces from the latter part of March until August. During that time, it will be remembered, the Japanese troops did not strike a single blow of real weight. The seizure of Saghalien was of course of no account, strategical, however important it was politically. The mere fact that the Japanese have not officially admitted such heavy loss from beri-beri means nothing. From

the military point of view they would be justified in never confirming it.

But if the Japanese were apathetic and fever-stricken during that summer, the Russians were in even worse case. On the east side, at least, a feeling of absolute despair seemed to have come over most of their men. They had lost confidence in their cause and in their leaders. The Russian authorities continued to send forward reinforcements, particularly of artillery, but they never succeeded in instilling discipline, order, and obedience into their ranks. General Linievitch proved his ability in masking his positions from the Japanese. In the battles up to Moukden, the Japanese knew the Russian positions and strength better than the Russians themselves. After Linievitch took control, this was no longer so.

The Russian forces at the front during the summer of 1905 were not so considerable as has sometimes been supposed. There has been vague talk of a million men on the fighting field. When I endeavoured to obtain more exact details, I found myself for some time baffled. However, I am now able to present what I have the best reason to believe is a precise statement of the total Russian armies in the Far East at the time of the conclusion of peace.

Infantry.	
648 battalions of about 750 men, say .	480,000
Cavalry.	
230 squadrons or sotnias of about 100 men, say	20,000
Artillery.	
1,820 guns of different calibre, and 374 Maxims, say	30,000
Engineers.	
Commissariat, etc., 34 battalions, say .	20,000
Total, about	550,000

These figures include all the troops in the Far East, those in Vladivostock and other places, as well as those available for the field army. There were between 350,000 and 400,000 men ready to meet the Japanese in battle—nearly double the number engaged in the battle of Moukden.

After the battle of Moukden the following reinforcements were sent to the seat of war:

Infantry . .	130 battalions (plus 60 battalions to be incorporated in the existing regiments as a fourth battalion).
Cavalry . .	24 squadrons.
Artillery .	596 guns and 334 Maxims (that is, nearly the whole of the Maxims were sent out after the battle of Moukden).
Engineers, etc.	12 battalions.

All the facts that I was able to gather have left on my mind the conviction that the Treaty of Portsmouth did remarkable justice to both sides. The Japanese gained much, as they deserved to, but they gained quite all they deserved. They had struck their blow—a splendid blow !—but they had reached a stage approaching perilously near to exhaustion. They might possibly have won another pitched battle, but that would have brought them no closer to the position where they could strike at the real heart of Russia. They were nearing the limit of their borrowing powers. The great wave of European and American emotional sympathy had almost exhausted itself; and they had lost so many of their fully trained officers, and so many of their best men that they were no longer so efficient a fighting force as before. Vladivostock still faced them, and the siege

of Vladivostock would be even more formidable than that of Port Arthur. They had won what they began the war for, and they might well be content. The revolutionary movement in Russia had failed to do what they hoped. The gushing and foolish talk in Europe and America, when the peace was concluded, of the magnanimity of the Mikado and his advisers in consenting to peace, was nothing but ill-informed nonsense. They took all they could get, and rightly so. They would have been traitors to their own imperial ambitions had they done less.

The exhaustion of the Japanese at the time of the declaration of peace is now virtually admitted by themselves. *The Japan Times*, which speaks with authority, used this admission as an argument for increased military and naval expenditure. "When one remembers how dangerously near the point of exhaustion the country was when the Portsmouth treaty of peace was concluded, it will not be the cynic alone who would sound a warning against the folly of basing our security on the honeyed words of praise lavished on us." (Jan. 26, 1907.)

The Russians, on the other hand, knew that at the best they could only hold their own. There was no hope for them to regain lost ground. Their navy was gone, their prestige was dimmed, and their empire shaken. For what? For a plan of expansion to the East, about which the mass of their people cared nothing. They had again demonstrated their courage, which no man doubted. They were in a bad place, and they knew it.

To return to my journey. I travelled by rail to Chang-fu, and there the regular service stopped.

There was still a section to cover, about 120 miles, before I could reach the Russian lines. The Japanese at Port Arthur had warned me that the country was very unsafe, on account of the brigands. At Chang-fu I found the people talking of little else. I started in the afternoon for a walk in the country. Some young Chinamen at once came running after me and begged me to turn back, on account of the bands of Hung-hutzes scouring the country. Next morning, when I started out in the construction train that was to take me over the first twenty-seven miles of the broken way, I found an escort of three Japanese soldiers awaiting me, with rifle magazines filled and bayonets fixed. They were there as my guard.

The whole country, from Tieling northwards to Suppinje, was desolate from the war. It seemed as though the Russian troops in retreating had destroyed everything. The bridges were all blown up, every house was burned, and the railway stations were wrecked. But the Japanese were steadily settling down in the forsaken country. All along the line I saw little colonies of Japanese traders and Japanese military railway guards. At one town, north of Chang-fu; the Japanese told me that there were no less than five hundred of their countrymen.

After leaving the construction train, I had to traverse part of the road on foot, having my goods carried by Chinese cart. I arrived at a little military post, where I found a young Japanese official who wanted to discuss Tolstoy with me, and to talk of the folly of war. He had hoped that by a year of exile in Manchuria, he could save enough to come to England. The young man afterwards wrote to

me, begging to know if I could tell him of any plan by which his desire could be realised. I quote part of his letter to show the hopes going through the minds of some of the younger Japanese. Possibly his prayer may come to the notice of those who can give him the opportunity he desires.

A young of Japan sends a letter to the gentleman of England.

My dear Sir, Mr. McKenzie,

Did you arrive safety London ?

I am thanking that I could not treat you with completely matter when you came here from corea past-day.

Now, please kindly give me the liberty to write my desire.

Dear sir, I am just twenty-three years old. happily or rather unhappily when I was born my home was not rich, and I became a work man after had passed the third class of middle school.

After that time many transformations came often on my public and private fortune. Therefore I indeed could not received the high education in my past.

Now sir, I earnety hope to go England to get the good knowledge of English law from the higher-spirited proffessor in your country. But unhappily I am poor of money to spend for travelling, and no one dose not care for my desire at present.

Before coming to Manchuria I thougt that I would make the money to spend for going further country step by step. but after spending new life in this state my expectation was not same to the fact. Sir ! What shall I do ? this is my daily question.

If I would arrive to your country I shall become a table-boy or mark man of rich man's garden or other worker which may be possible for myself to get the money for living of course I always determind to go third class of steamer.

Now sir !

May it possible or not ? if you kindly have the simpathy for the abovementioned wishes I will become a very happy young and can see the light in future of my life. I would return Tokio at once to get the passport from the Foreign department by my father's care

and start soon.

Now sir I am afraid these are not independently please pardon me, sir

Oh England !

thats my paradise.

How many I think of it day and night.

Mr. McKenzie now hopping to read your kind letter in near future

please give me simpathy for poor young

Yours respectfully

After two year I must be 25 years old perhaps it will be late in time to get success while my parrents are living I want to see them as a successful man.

At Suppinje I found the railway partly restored, and I continued my journey from there on a push cart, run along the rails by gangs of coolies. The Colonel at Chang-fu had telephoned ahead that I was to be helped through as quickly as possible, and his assistants

along the line of route showed me every possible kindness. That evening, as we were speeding along, near sunset, a party of Hung-hutzes came into view. They were splendidly mounted, some of the men having second horses, which they led. The robbers saw the soldiers with me, and moved off.

When I started out again at nine in the evening, I found that a more elaborate escort had been provided. "If you are killed," said the Japanese officer simply, "I will have to suicide myself." He had determined that I should not be killed. One cart ran ahead, with three or four soldiers on it, while behind me sat three soldiers more. It was two in the morning before we reached the half-way house. We had covered about seventy miles that day.

Next morning I had a surprise. As I left my room at seven in the morning, to hasten my start, another white man came out of the opposite door. He was Captain von Pustau, of the Imperial German Navy, who had been visiting the Far East as a correspondent for the Berlin *Local-Anzeiger*. It did not take us long to become acquainted, and I have reason to thank the good fortune that gave me his comradeship for the remainder of the journey.

We were soon off again, the officers of the little Japanese garrison coming to bid us farewell. All that day we hurried on, tiring out several groups of coolies. We were met at point after point by the Japanese officers stationed at the block-houses. To them, in their isolation, the passing of fresh faces was an event, more particularly as we were among the first who had come through along the Port Arthur-Harbin line since the investment of the Russian fortress at the

beginning of the war. Our difficulty was to avoid the kindly hospitality of the soldiers. They constantly told us that we ought not to try to go further, but should spend the whole night with them. We had to stop at one place for a midday meal. Word had gone ahead, and the officers were waiting. My companion explained that we could not delay for more than ten minutes. But course after course had been conjured up in that barren spot, and it was an hour and twenty minutes before we were able to leave. The Japanese officers politely declared that it was of no use for us to attempt to hurry; they had sent our coolies away, and they could obtain no more for at least an hour!

During the last stage of our journey through the Japanese lines we were guarded like valuable and brittle china. A Japanese frontier officer came down to meet us; we had infantry in front and behind us, and mounted gendarmes were sent ahead to explore each valley and wood. The officer explained to us, with much detail, that there had been many deaths from the Hung-hutzes there, and he was not going to permit us to be added to the roll. The houses showed how seriously the brigands are regarded here. Near each station was a fortified barracks, built by the Russians during their occupation, with high walls, iron-shod gates, loop holes, and high inspection tower. The houses placed outside these walls had their sides carefully banked up, like earthworks. "Sometimes the robbers come and fire shots into our houses at night time," said the officer. "If we did not make thick earthen ramparts around, we would be killed."

It was nearing sunset when we approached the Russian lines. A group of sentinels in their white

smock coats stood at the barrier. We gave the familiar greeting "Zdrvástvouitie," and they saluted as we rode by.

Now we were to realise the contrast between the Russian and the Japanese administrations. The Japanese were doing their detail work perfectly. Their barracks were clean and in order, and their officers and men alike knew all that was going on around. On the Russian side we were stopped at the block-house, and told that we must wait there until word had come from Chang-Chung-fu, two miles away. We sent urgent telephone messages into the town, but they never reached the chief officers. "The officer in charge will be out in an hour," came the reply. We lay on the bare board of the block-house and slept until morning. When I woke I found that my hand was badly swollen with the bites of the poisonous insects that abounded.

Still no officer. A few rough and good-humoured Cossacks were wandering about. I went out to the well in the field, and tried to pull up a bucket or two of water, to throw over myself as a morning refresher. The bucket was so full of holes that barely a quart would reach the surface. This was typical! Finally, we announced that we were going on, whether the guardian of the block-house allowed it or not. The telephone bell rang more vigorously than ever, and by eleven o'clock we were under way, with a mounted Cossack guard following us.

At Chang-Chung-fu there was the same confusion. We found the officers of the staff there in rooms stocked with ill-arranged and confused documents, preparing for evacuation. They had not even been told

of our arrival at the frontier. Personally they were charming and kindly men; but when one contrasted their easy ways with the order, determination, and thoroughness of their rivals, one wondered what hope there is for their cause in the Far East.

Chang-Chung-fu is a city of broad streets, modern Chinese buildings, and immense warehouses. The hongs of some of the merchants are measured by the thousand yards. The Chinese traders made immense sums out of the Russian administration during the war. This town is the most important trading centre between Harbin and Moukden. To me it will always be remembered as the most dusty city I have ever been in. The fine dust must have been a foot thick on the roadways. You could not walk a step without raising columns of it; while at every movement of your cart you were enveloped in clouds.

We had the choice of travelling from Chang-Chung-fu by the day train, in first-class carriages, or of going in a third-class train at night. We chose the latter to avoid the delay. It was by no means uncomfortable. There was a wooden shelf on which one could sleep. Next morning found us in Harbin.

As many people are interested in the reopened trans-Siberian route, it may be well for me to state here that it has greatly improved since I crossed it in September. The Japanese now have their railway completed as far as Chang-Chung-fu, there being only a short gap between the Russian and Japanese stations that can be covered by an hour's carriage ride. Leaving Tairen at six in the evening, it is nominally possible to reach Harbin at nine o'clock the second evening afterwards. The lines are still running badly

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Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

THE AUTHOR'S COSSACK GUARD WHEN TRAVELLING THROUGH RUSSIAN MANCHURIA.

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however, on account of the telegraph wires being broken in various places, and, when I last heard, the trains were about twenty-four hours late in completing the trip. There are as yet no arrangements for goods traffic between the two places.

Harbin I found overflowing with money and with prosperity. Compared with the great days of the war, when two operas, six theatres, and a hundred circuses and music-halls were in full blast, it may have seemed dull. But I had not known it then, so, coming from the stagnation of the interior, it struck me as full of life. War prices continued unchecked. A filthy room in the best Russian hotel on the official side of the town cost me 13*s.* a night without food, and I paid between 9*s.* and 10*s.* for a Russian bath. A mechanic demanded £2 14*s.* for repairing a broken spring in my typewriter, more than ten times the proper price. Large numbers of miners could be seen driving in the town, all apparently with good money to spend.

What I saw bore out the genuineness of the determination of the Russians to evacuate Manchuria. There were not, at the time I passed through, more than 50,000 of their soldiers in the province, including 18,000 railway guards. Various high Russian officials, with whom I discussed matters, expressed their sincere wish to be away. "The place has been a curse to us," they said. "It has cost us untold millions; it has crippled our strength, and it has benefited no one save Jewish contractors."

There is no question but that the mass of the people in Manchuria prefer the Russian to the Japanese administration. The Russians spend much money, and interfere very little with local affairs. The Russian

soldier is exceedingly kindly to the natives—in spite of popular impressions in England to the contrary—and gets on well with them. The Chinese have already various sayings comparing the two nations. "The Russians came and boxed our ears with one hand," they say. "But with the other they gave us many roubles. The Japanese came and boxed our ears just the same, but with the other they filch our dollars away from us." "We have driven out the bear, but now the tiger has come in and made a home in the old bear's cave," is another saying.

To me, the most painful thing in Russian Manchuria was the record of military corruption dinned into my ears at every place. The people made no secret of it. Men boasted of their success in making fortunes out of the war funds. One soldier, who served as chief cook and purchaser of supplies to his regiment, claimed to have made 60,000 roubles (about £6,400). "I bought cattle for 35 roubles each," he said. "They were charged in the accounts at 100 roubles. Being only a common soldier, I could keep no more than ten roubles for myself. The colonel kept 25 roubles, and the remaining 30 went among others. I bought other things in the same way."

Business men admitted that but for wholesale bribery they could have got nothing through on the railway during the war. One notorious station-master removed military stores from three hundred cars, and sent forward the supplies of private merchants. He received 500 roubles (£54) a car. He implicated so many higher officials that, when a military board inquired into his case, he had to be promoted instead of punished, to save a scandal.

CHAPTER IX

JAPAN'S COMMERCIAL CAMPAIGN

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THE first sight that meets the eye of the traveller as he approaches shore at Nagasaki is an army of stunted girls and women, grimed with coal-dust, crouching in barges, waiting to load the liners with fuel. Kyoto, world-renowned as the training-ground of the romantic geisha, is making rapid strides as a weaving and general manufacturing centre. The road from Tokyo to Nikko—perhaps the most beautiful holiday resort on earth—is now marked at many of the fairest spots by factory chimneys. When you travel to see a great waterfall, your mind full of ancient stories of daimios and clansmen, you will possibly find that an electric plant is being built there. The shores of the Straits of Shimonoseki, where a generation ago feudalism battled with Western civilisation, are to-day black with coal-wharves and the smoke of mills and furnaces.

All over the land, the old, peaceful, romantic life is passing away, swept on one side by the whir and rush of factory, furnace, foundry, and bleaching-house. The dainty mousmé can no longer stay at home practising elaborate courtesy. The factory whistle calls her at six in the morning with its threatening shriek. The grounds of the Shogun's old castle are now covered with offices and intersected by electric tramways.

Yesterday Japan was the world's fairy-land; to-day Japan would fain be the world's workshop. She has set out to make herself the paramount commercial power of the East, and she is rapidly succeeding in her purpose. Month by month her imports of foreign manufactured goods are decreasing and her exports rising. The year 1906 alone showed an increase of about twenty per cent. in exports of manufactured goods, and of twenty-six per cent. in half-manufactured goods, with a decrease of about twenty-four per cent. in the imports of foreign manufactures. Japan is on her way to become paramount in shipping, ship-building, and general manufacturing on the Western Pacific.

The three chief commercial nations of the world—England, Germany, and America—have all owed their industrial progress mainly to individual initiative and energy. In Germany we see the splendid activities of the merchant aided and supplemented by Government co-operation; in America we have individual energy working almost unchecked; in England we have individualism in commerce hampered by State inefficiency. In our commercial advances the individual has been everything and the State nothing. Japan has gone on different lines. There the individual trader is the minor factor; the real creating and driving power has been the Government. The Government starts industries, finds markets, provides capital, trains workers, and guides and assists in every stage of business, from first to last.

The Japanese are not a commercial people, and their character does not readily lend itself to systematic industry. They lack the supreme qualities that make

great merchants. For centuries the trader was despised as the lowest and most contemptible of men, one who would take personal profit out of the needs of others. When the makers of New Japan realised that imperial greatness was impossible without national commerce, they had to create a new class of merchant, and to break down the traditions of many generations. The imperial family gave its patronage to business. The Crown Prince became associated with the Standard Oil Trust, and the sons of nobles studied in the workshops of the West. The State took over several great industries and monopolised them. Other highways of commerce, notably banking and shipping, are now largely State-controlled. The Government pours out money in wholesale fashion to foster young industries, and it buys from home manufacturers wherever possible, even though it has to pay higher prices than from abroad. The word has gone forth that every Japanese is to prove his loyalty by patronising home industries.

The main advantages possessed by Japan in the coming struggle for trade are, apart from exclusive political privileges, cheap labour, cheap fuel, abundant water-power, carefully trained leadership, alliance for export, and strong Government backing. We can see already what Japan has accomplished with these advantages. For some time we smiled with easy tolerance at the efforts of these people to create a great cotton industry. Last year the go-downs of Shanghai were crammed with English and American piece-goods, seeking a market, while the Japanese mills were working day and night to meet their orders. The Japanese Imperial Navy that won the Russian War was built mainly in England. To-day Japan is not only building

the new additions to her fleet in her own yards, but she is securing orders from other lands. Up to quite recently Japanese ship-building was confined to small craft. To-day merchant vessels of 13,000 tons are on the stocks, and the purchases of foreign ships have dwindled almost to nothing. Japan is now building merchantmen for India and China. At Bombay and Han-kow, at Newchwang and Hong-Kong, the Japanese shipowner is competing with our own. Twenty years ago Japanese exports were valued at less than a million; last year they amounted to over forty-two millions, an increase of ten millions on the previous year. Of these no less than thirty-five millions were of manufactured or half-manufactured goods.

The first difficulty that confronted the Japanese Government in promoting commercial expansion was the lack of honesty of the Japanese trader. Much has been made of this by many writers, and it is undoubtedly true that the Japanese merchant bears the worst reputation of any business man on the Pacific. He does not realise that a contract is made to be kept, even though he may lose money on it. He is an adept in what Lacfadio Hearn described as "little tricky plans which cannot be brought under law provision, or even defined so as to appear to justify resentment—tricks at which the Japanese are as elaborately ingenious as they are in matters of etiquette and forms of other kinds."

All this is true enough, but it is not the whole truth. There are working in Japan to-day great firms with as honourable a record as their European competitors. The number of reliable merchants is on the increase. The Government in its commercial schools

is doing its utmost to inculcate the necessity for commercial straightforwardness. The trickery of to-day is a passing feature due to old traditions. A much more serious factor against Japanese industry is the steady increase in the cost of living and the rise of wages there. On the most moderate estimate the cost of living has doubled within the past ten years. Wages have gone up steadily. Thus in the cotton trade, the average daily wage of the female worker in 1892 was 2¼*d.*; in 1897 it was 3¼*d.*; to-day it is over 5*d.* At the same time the average daily wage of the man operative has risen from 4¼*d.* to 8*d.* Taxation has become a crushing burden. Each year the cost of the Government grows. Before Japan entered on her campaign of imperial expansion, the annual expenditure of the Government ranged from six to eight millions a year. Even as late as 1893 the total expenditure was only £7,800,000. By 1900 this had risen to £29,000,000; last year it was £49,000,000, and for 1907 the grand total is £61,000,000. In order to raise this money the Government has had to take over various lines of business and work them at a profit, and further, has had to tax to the last degree everything taxable. A local economist sought to prove last summer that half the income of people goes in direct and indirect taxation. That is a gross exaggeration, but the possibility of such over-statement shows the weight of the burden. Your tramway ticket is taxed, the sauce on your table is taxed, and everything between.

War came not as a curse, but as a blessing to commercial Japan. Here is a land desperately poor, if poverty is judged by money. Industry was hampered

at every turn by lack of capital and by lack of demand. Foreign investors refused to lend to any extent, owing to the restrictions the native law placed on them. It would have been as hard to float a Japanese industrial loan on the London market before the war as it would be to raise money for Polish cotton mills to-day.

Then came the triumphs of 1904, and the purse-strings of the world were suddenly loosed. Money poured into Japan by the scores of millions. Even those portions of the Japanese loans originally subscribed in Tokyo were very largely transferred abroad in a short time. Suddenly the new Japanese manufacturers, who had been struggling to live, found themselves called on to work night and day to meet Government orders. Wages went up, and foreign money paid them. Eighty-five per cent. of the cost of the war was met by loans, and an appreciable proportion of those loans was spent in Japan itself.

Even when the war was over, the glamour of Japan continued. Last year many large English and American capitalists went in person or sent their representatives, seeking investments. Most of them, it is true, retired in disgust when they realised the limitations imposed upon foreign enterprise and capital here. But sufficient foreign capital arrived to enable the boom to continue.

This rush of foreign money is now over. The financial king of Cornhill or of Wall Street naturally desires to have some control over the undertakings he puts his capital in, and to secure most of the profit for himself. Japan has protected herself against him. The foreigner can with care obtain a fixed and respectable six per cent., or, if he is willing to take great risks, he can have more. But he cannot even hold shares in

the most profitable enterprises, such as shipping companies, or railways, or mines. He has to place himself at the mercy of his Japanese associates in various ways. A boom in speculative commerce has been growing and growing, during the past year, until it has now reached the point where it is a serious national danger. A fever of gambling has passed over the country. A new standard of existence is at the same time being established in the great towns, and people are living on a scale unheard of before. The poor clerk wants foreign clothes for his children, if he cannot afford to give them to his wife. The shop assistant demands milk to drink, and no man could afford to buy milk for his family on the old scale of wages. New companies are being floated almost every hour. New electric schemes, new mills, fresh shipping-yards, and new banks are being talked of everywhere. The new businesses started since the close of the war have a capitalisation reckoned by the hundred millions, and that in a country where money is still very scarce. The shares of old companies have appreciated by fifty, eighty, and a hundred per cent. A race of merchant millionaries has arisen. The trader of yesterday becomes the baron of to-day, and takes his place among the nobles. "All the people are content to trouble themselves about nowadays," said Count Okuma, the John Morley of Japan, recently, "is the so-called inauguration of new companies, speculation in shares, horse-racing, lotteries, restaurants, tea-houses, and what not." A new class of young men is coming to the front, men who have escaped military service by trickery or malingering, and whose one ambition is to be rich.

Wages in Japan, despite recent rises, are still absurdly low. Young people often receive no pay for several years. The woman who works at home considers herself lucky if she makes 6*s*. 6*d*. a month, while the woman in the factory earns about 5*d*. a day. A shilling to fifteenpence a day is considered good for a skilled workman, and one employer known to me has the pick of the market, because he pays his mechanics at the amazing rate of one yen (2*s*.) a day. The policeman starts with 24*s*. a month (not long since the pay was 16*s*.), and in time he may rise to 10*s*. a week. Yet he cannot be bribed by a foreigner, and woe to you if you offer him a yen or two when he has done you a service! A clerk in a Government office will start at 30*s*. a month. The judge begins on £50 a year.

Five years ago, low salaries in Japan did not involve acute distress. It was once the boast of Tokyo that it had no real slums. Each year this is becoming less and less true. There is still more sordid misery in Poplar or Canning Town than in the entire Japanese capital. But Tokyo is gradually acquiring its slum problem, like European cities. I have been down streets there where the familiar type of the peaked-faced child and the gaunt, over-worked woman could be seen in house after house. Yet the Japanese capital has nothing to show to compare with the filth and horror of our night crowds of homeless on the Thames Embankment. Even the policeman on six shillings a week manages to maintain a family in decency. Tokyo is helped by two things. The liability to earthquakes prevents the construction of tenement houses, and the drink habit has not yet penetrated to any extent among the women of the poor. The

problem of alcholism is one that will weigh heavily upon Japan within a generation. There are many signs that intemperance is increasing and is taking more virulent forms. But the working women have so far escaped it.

The boom must pass, but the real advance of industry will remain. The progress of Japanese commerce has nothing to do with the speculative fever. It is based upon the solid accomplishments of a number of picked men, sent abroad during the past twenty years by the Government, who acquired Western commercial and manufacturing knowledge, and applied it. I visited the office of one such leader last summer, the son of a noble educated in America. He is the president of a great manufacturing concern, one of the largest and most prosperous in the land. There was no carpet on the floor, and absolutely not a single ornament in the room, save one stick of artificial cherry-blossom. The president, a bright-eyed, eager young man, sat before a large, flat, well-worn desk, with an array of telephones to his left. There was a sofa behind him, and a stand-up desk to the side.

"You see no unnecessary ornament in this room, do you?" he remarked briskly. "I have a sofa, but that is for me to sleep on when I stay here all night. Our works are open every day, and I am down at my office three hundred and sixty-five days a year. We have a saying in Japan that the leader of an enterprise should be the first to meet trouble, and the last to take pleasure. I come at eight in the morning and remain until about seven at night. This is longer hours than you have in England, isn't it? But you have established yourselves, while we are making our

way. I consider it my business to know the work and doings of every superintendent and foreman here. We employ over six thousand men, you know. Every year we give our men a bonus, in addition to their wages. Each foreman decides the proportion of bonus to go to the men under him. But the amount given to each foreman and clerk and assistant is decided by me myself. If I did not know sufficient of what each of them was doing to decide this matter justly, I should think it time to resign."

The dividends declared by the older established concerns show the margin of profit now to be made in Japan. Two spinning companies declare 40 per cent. dividends; several of the leading banks pay from 10 to 12 per cent.; one railway pays 14 per cent. and the other 14·7, and a third 15 per cent. In the current list of a Kobe stockbroker, I note the last dividends paid on a group of companies shown there, 20, 20, 15, 15, 12, 15, 13½, 17, 20, 20, and 15 per cent.

Japanese commerce is still in its infancy, but it is a very lusty child.

CHAPTER X

MONOPOLY AT WORK

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A LONG and well-lighted room, filled with hundreds of girls, each sitting or standing over a machine or by a table. Some of them looked little more than babies, scarce big enough to be out of the nursery, while others showed prematurely aged faces. Attired in bright kimonos, with hair quaintly dressed, yellow-faced, slant-eyed, chattering and smiling, they embodied one result of Western influence upon the East.

All were working at top speed, for piece-work rates rule, and it needs a long day to make a living wage. Poor dainty little Mademoiselles Chrysanthème—the age has gone past when Japan was content for her daughters to stay at home. The factory is your lot.

The nimbleness of the workers, the speed with which their fingers moved, the unceasing buzz of the machines, and the vigilance of the European-dressed supervisors, seemed all unlike English conceptions of the Japanese. Here was one lassie sticking bits of wadding into the ends of cigarettes. Her hands flew so deftly that one could scarce follow them. Why was she plugging the end of each paper cylinder in this fashion? I asked. I was told that she was busy producing a line of cigarettes made of tobacco dust, and that unless special precautions were taken they would all go to pieces; so the paper at the top

was crimped by machinery, and girls stuck wadding on the end of each mouthpiece.

The factory over which I was going was one of the most modern and up-to-date in Japan. It is owned and operated by the Government itself, the tobacco trade being a Government monopoly. I had here in front of me an illustration of the most striking industrial departure Japan has yet initiated, a departure likely to be copied by other Governments. State monopolies are no new thing. We are familiar with them in Europe, from the match monopoly in France to the alcohol monopoly in Switzerland. Generally speaking, European experience has been that the exclusive manufacture of any article by the State means that the consumers pay more and have worse quality than when the trade is privately controlled. I was curious to see if Japan would succeed where others had so conspicuously failed.

The Japanese Tobacco Monopoly is the fruit of the genius of the Department of Finance, one of the most brilliantly managed sections of the Japanese Government. The authorities found themselves hard driven for money. In spite of constant increase of taxation, not enough was secured to meet the ever-rising subsidies and official outlays. Then the Department of Finance elaborated the idea of establishing trade monopolies, worked by the authorities for direct profit. Japan was driven to State socialism by economic necessity. Salt, tobacco, camphor, and railways have thus been taken over, and the method will doubtless be extended to other industries. Attempts have also been made to monopolise the match trade, but so far without success.

The Japanese are essentially a nation of smokers. The Japanese man consumes innumerable cigarettes, and even the Japanese lady has a dainty pipe or little paper and tobacco roll. For some time the tobacco trade was largely in the hands of a branch of the American Tobacco Company, and several up-to-date factories on a large scale were in working order. In 1876 a tobacco tax was imposed, and in 1898, in order to raise funds to meet the increased military expenses since the China War, the Government instituted a monopoly for leaf tobacco. This monopoly soon yielded five times as much revenue as the old duty, and the Government then determined to extend this system so as to include not merely tobacco leaf, but the manufacture of prepared tobacco.

In 1904 the more complete monopoly came into operation, the entire trade then being taken over by the Government. The old owners were given compensation amounting to 20 per cent. of their sales, with an additional allowance equal to one-sixth more if their buildings and plant were not purchased. The total sum granted under this was not, however, to exceed £910,000. A number of Europeans and Americans who had been engaged in the business were dismissed, their places being taken by Japanese. The large foreign firms were well able to look after themselves, but there was some grumbling among the smaller ones. Naturally all felt aggrieved that after establishing an industry, as they had done, the Government should come in and take it from them.

Since 1904 the Monopoly has been worked on aggressively national lines. The policy throughout has been to employ only Japanese, save where a

foreigner is indispensable, and to use, as far as possible, Japanese machinery. One special branch factory was quickly established at Fushimi to deal with machinery of all kinds, and the new appliances in the factories are more and more of Japanese make. A small quantity of foreign-grown tobacco has to be used for certain brands, such as the "Orient" cigarettes; but this is kept to a minimum, and the home-grown weed is solely used for most of the output. Home growers of tobacco are compelled to sell their crops to the Monopoly; and if they do not agree to the prices fixed by the Monopoly agents, special arbitrators are appointed. Foreign-manufactured tobacco is excluded from Japan by a duty of 250 per cent.

The primary purpose of the Monopoly is not philanthropy, but, as I said before, profit. The wages of the workers have been kept about the same as under private management. The officials claim, however, that they have improved the lot of the factory hands in several ways. The Monopoly can secure regularity of output. It knows how much will be wanted, for each coming year, and can run its plants accordingly, avoiding both rush-work and slack times. Very young child labour has been somewhat lessened, and home work has been strictly supervised. But the Monopoly does not profess to be a concern for social amelioration. The rate of wages is, generally speaking, very low, and the money that can be earned by the wives and daughters of policemen and petty officials who do out-work tasks is barely sufficient to support them.

Very real economy has been effected in cost of distribution. Rival selling agents can now be dispensed with. When there is only one seller, buyers

naturally have to come to him in place of being run after.

The Monopoly began with cigarettes, and then went on to cut tobacco. For some time it has been impossible to produce sufficient in the factories to meet the popular demand, and consequently very much work has had to be done outside. The price of cigarettes has increased by about 20 per cent. since the Monopoly took the control ; but as this is part of a common rise in cost in Japan, little can be said about it. Even with this increase, the most expensive ordinary variety of cigarettes, the " Star," costs a penny three-farthings for a box of ten, while the cheapest, the " Yamazakura," costs five farthings for twenty, retail. Japanese cigarettes, like Russian, consist mostly of cardboard mouthpieces with a little tobacco at one end. Cut tobacco ranges in price from one shilling to half a crown a pound, and cigars from five shillings to twenty-four shillings a hundred.

The authorities are insistent on the high quality of their wares, and make great claims, especially in foreign markets, about the purity and excellence ensured by Government ownership. Frankly, I cannot see any grounds for these claims or any reason for believing that the Government proprietorial rights ensure a better or purer article. If my eyes did not deceive me when I went over the factory, methods of flavouring and of the utilisation of stalks and waste are adopted that can only be justified on the grounds of a very cheap, low-priced trade. There is a danger here, of course, that one may judge Oriental quality by Western taste. From the standpoint of the English smoker the Japanese Monopoly tobacco is bad. If I

were condemned to smoke it or nothing, I would join the Anti-Nicotine League to-morrow. I have not tried the Monopoly cigars, for after handling them I declined to make the attempt. I lacked courage. But my own taste or the taste of the average English resident in Japan counts for practically nothing here. The trade is not made to meet our desires, but the demand of the people of the country, and what is to us execrable may to them be the balm of Araby. I tried to gather the views of average Japanese smokers of all classes about the effect of the Monopoly on quality. I found a general agreement that the quality has deteriorated. "We must smoke whatever they turn out," many Japanese told me, "and so naturally they are not very particular about what they give us."

This view of the decline of quality is borne out by the varying sales of Japanese tobacco abroad. Not satisfied with expelling foreign manufactures from Japan, the Government started to attack them in other lands. The British-American Tobacco Company, when turned out of Japan, established large factories at Shanghai, and built up a very considerable Chinese trade. The Japanese Government threw all the weight of its political influence in the Chinese, Korean, and Manchurian markets in a fight against them. Selling agents for the Japanese goods were appointed all over the Far East, in Australia, Siam, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, and the Philippines. In China, in particular, districts were allotted out to Japanese wholesalers, and these were left to employ their own devices for fostering trade. Consignments were sent even to Scandinavia, and the Monopoly has for some time been considering the possibility of supplying England.

It is no secret that the European manufacturers consider themselves seriously aggrieved by this external competition of the Japanese Government. They complain that the Government does not play the game. For instance, the agents of the Monopoly who go through China claim the status of Government representatives, while really they are nothing but commercial travellers. In Manchuria, every advantage has been given to the Monopoly officials and every possible check been put upon the private firms. In Korea, wholesale smuggling of Japanese Monopoly tobacco has been allowed. Some of the Monopoly agents in China have not hesitated to stir up anti-foreign sentiment among the natives. I have seen broadsheets issued in China to promote the sale of Japanese tobacco. These, it is only fair to say, are published by the local agents and not from the central offices in Japan. Some of them are so abominable and scurrilous that it is impossible even distantly to describe them in a book intended for common reading. They touch the lowest depths.

One comparatively innocent circular can be quoted. It is from Hanlow, and is headed, "Hasten to read this, patriotic gentlemen!" It is an appeal to boycott American cigarettes and buy Japanese. "Americans are composed of wicked minds, poisonous as acid," it asserts. "They have told the British that they sell cigarettes in order to injure Chinese and ruin their lives. To ask for one of their cigarettes is to ask for the death of a Chinese. If you do this, your heart is as fierce as a wolf. Are you not afraid that the thunder will strike you?"

The final paragraph of this poster reveals its source

of origin. "Should you wish to smoke cigarettes, smoke the Dragon or Phœnix brands, manufactured by the Japanese Government Tobacco Bureau, whose agents are the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha."

Where, as was the case in Manchuria, the Monopoly agents could keep back the foreign goods, they had for the time a great success. The exports went up considerably, rising from £56,696 in the last six months of 1904, to £314,513 for the whole of 1905, an increase of not far short of from three to one. In China the trade increased fourfold. During 1906, however, the European and American manufacturers began steadily to win back their own again. The Japanese exports to China were reduced more than 50 per cent., and they fell even in Korea. For the first ten months of 1905, the value of Japanese cigarettes exported to all countries was £233,976. For ten months in 1906 the exports only amounted to £149,448.

There can be no question about the success of the Monopoly from a financial point of view. It has yielded the State a profit far in excess of estimates. In the first year alone the actual net profit was £2,750,000. This has since risen. In the home market the tobacco monopoly will, of course, carry everything before it. Abroad, however, it must either improve the quality of its wares or obtain special political concessions if it is to hold its own. The foreign manufacturers working from Shanghai can command better tobacco, equally cheap labour, and equal shipping facilities. Given a fair field, there is not very much question as to which will win the day.

CHAPTER XI

THE JAPANESE COTTON TRADE

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I STOOD in the main street of Osaka and gazed around. Was this Japan?

A murky river, with muddy and malodorous water, and carrying many ugly lighters, bordered one side of the road. The skyline was marked by giant factory chimneys, each belching forth its thick black smoke. The rising steam of bleaching-sheds filled the air. Long, ugly go-downs could be seen in all directions. The wooden houses—in other parts the daintiest and prettiest-looking of homes—here seemed consumed with grime. The air, heavy, damp, and gloomy, might have been that of Manchester on a November day.

A party of women passed by. Where were now the dainty daughters of Japan? These were tired, for factory hours are long in Osaka. Their clothes, shabby and sad-coloured, matched their prematurely aged faces. There were children among them, little girls of nine and ten, who had been all day at work in the mills, like their elders.

Japan is realising her ambition, and this was part of the outcome.

Cotton is king in the Far East. The Asiatic textile trade is one of the most important sections of our exports. An open and awakened Far East, buying its higher-class cotton goods from us—no sensible

man expects to retain its cheaper business—will mean prosperity for England in the coming generation. Let that market slip from us, and Lancashire will be hard hit.

For some time it seemed that Japan could never be our serious rival in cotton manufacture. Her people, while good hand-workers, are on the whole indifferent with machines. Capital costs twice as much in Japan as in England. The country does not grow its own cotton. The Japanese for long failed to display any capacity for fine work. Their output was cheap but poor ; and even when all the mills were running to their utmost capacity, it was very small in amount.

But the events of the past year have somewhat shaken our feeling of security. The Japanese are greatly increasing their output, and are turning out a higher grade of goods than ever before. They are underselling us, they have advantages in retailing their products which we lack, and they are rapidly forcing their way into our Chinese market.

The Japanese spinning industry is still in its beginnings. All the mills together number only one and a third million spindles, one-twelfth of those in Oldham alone. The total of workers is sixty-three thousand, of whom fifty thousand are women and girls. The average daily wage is fivepence for a woman and eightpence halfpenny for a man. The operatives cannot be compared, in efficiency or nimbleness, with our own Lancashire hands. At the best, five Japanese are equal to two English. Mill managers, particularly around Osaka, complain bitterly that, owing to the custom of girls leaving the mills when they marry, extreme difficulty is found in maintaining a large body of expert workers.

So much for the dark side. But these facts are modified by others. The output is greater than might be expected from the small number of spindles, because many of the mills work day and night, seven days a week. Most factories have two off days a month, but do not observe Sundays. Some Japanese industrial leaders are openly declaring that since they are fighting for outer markets now held by others, they ought to keep always at it, working every day, and they practise what they preach. The usual working hours are from six until six, with an hour and a half or two hours off for meals.

The greater part of the cotton output is confined to coarse counts, the overwhelming proportion of the exported cottons being sixteen hand. But the production of much finer work is steadily increasing. This is specially seen in the home market.

Japan learned its cotton business from us. Many of the mill managers studied their business in Lancashire, and they are practical, shrewd, unassuming men. They seem to have acquired the true Lancashire contempt for mere display. One often finds the managers of the biggest mills dressed in shabby European clothes, and immersed in detail work. They are workers of a type that builds up an industry, and they are not ashamed to look what they are.

In equipment, the leading Japanese mills are equal to our own. In some cases, notably the great Osaka Cotton Company, the buildings are exact copies of Lancashire concerns. Lancashire-made machinery is universal. The name of Platt may be seen in nearly every great establishment. American machinery plays a very small part here.

The manager of one of the largest mills explained to me why Japan comes to us for equipment. "English machinery is very high in price," he said, "but it works well, and it does not easily get out of order. Some time ago we tried the experiment of laying down Japanese-made machinery. It cost much less, but we soon found that cheap machines can be the dearest in the end. Bobbins and rollers, for instance, are only half the price when Japanese-made, but they are only one-third of the quality. After a fair trial we turned out our Japanese machines, and have nothing but English now. We even import our odd parts from England."

"But Japanese makers are bound to come up to the English standard in time?" I suggested.

"Perhaps, if they have good fortune, in a hundred years," the manager politely replied. "But I doubt it, even then."

Up to recently, the most serious handicap for the Japanese mills was lack of capital. Practically every yen that could be obtained was sunk in buildings or machinery. Offers of 7, 8, and 9 per cent. failed to tempt outside money. This hindrance is being rapidly removed. Not only is foreign capital now available, but the Government is advancing money for export trade at 5 per cent., and the imperial family of Japan is investing large sums. The only obstacle to a great increase of spindles is the difficulty of obtaining sufficient new machinery at an early date. For some time the Japanese have been placing very large orders in Oldham for both spinning and weaving machinery for use in their country, and the expansion of the Japanese cotton industry, so soon

as these orders can be completed, will be enormous. Nothing but the congestion of the Oldham machinery market with British orders has prevented this growth taking place earlier. It is impossible to calculate the expansion of this industry in the future by the number of spindles at work to-day.

The Japanese are carrying the paternalism of their old clans into factory life. The factory manager is the chief of the clan, and is expected to look after his people. This sentiment is recognised by many of the larger companies, and is even encouraged by them. It is carried to its utmost extent at the Kanegafuchi cotton mills. The hands there are given virtual security of tenure, conditional on good behaviour. The workmen pay 3 per cent. of their wages to a sick and provident fund, and the company not only doubles this, but makes large additional grants. The sick are cared for, and the old given pensions. There is a hospital for those who cannot be nursed at home. Liberal compensation is paid for accidents. The women workers are assisted at child-birth—for this mill, unlike many in Japan, succeeds in retaining its women workers after marriage. Pretty and comfortable little houses, electrically lit, can be had by the mill hands for under three shillings a month. Those who have been at work for over three years are allowed homes rent free on marriage. The idea of the owners is to attach their good workers to them, by affording them a feeling of security of employment. The system is extending to other mills besides Kanegafuchi, and promises to be one of the strong factors in the commercial advance of Japan.

One of the least favourable features in the Japanese

mills is the child labour. The Japanese owners often give inquirers assurances that practically no children under twelve are employed. Personal investigation, however, shows that this is incorrect. Many of the children at work impress outsiders as being little more than infants, but it is difficult for a foreigner accurately to judge the age of a Japanese child. I found by individual interrogation in some of the mills that children I saw at work were only nine or ten years old. An American inquirer, Mr. Henry George, junior, who visited the mills after myself, reports the same thing.

"But the children," Mr. George writes, "it was to them that my thoughts had turned when I started to speak about the cotton-mills. The sight of them in these mills—mills that work day and night and seven days in the week, for of course Sunday is not recognised here in the industries—it was the sight of so many of them among the spindles that made me wonder how much benefit all this civilisation that Japan is now taking up will bring to them? They were all sorts and sizes, both girls and boys. But the girls looked smaller and in some way appealed more to my sympathies. One or two of them looked scarcely more than babies, yet they were tending machines. They only momentarily stopped to stare at me, and then turned back to the twirling spools.

"I had been informed that thirteen (twelve by our way of reckoning) was the lowest age of children working in these mills. I caught up one little body in my arms and asked the foreman her age. He questioned the child, who said she was nine (eight according to our computation). She really looked not more than six or seven, and there were many more

like her standing down through the long aisles of roaring machinery."

There are no factory laws limiting the labour of women and children in Japan to-day. Doubtless such laws will be passed before many years, for the Japanese Government will realise that industrial success is not worth while when obtained at the cost of the child life of the nation. Some of the factory-owners would themselves welcome it.

There is no doubt but that in 1911, when the Japanese recover complete tariff autonomy, they will shut out foreign cotton goods almost completely. Their home mills will by that time be in a position to supply the home demand. From the point of view of the white factory-owner the loss of the Japanese cotton-market is not so serious as the coming Japanese competition in other fields. The Japanese mills are seriously stretching out for foreign trade. In Northern China their yarns are carrying all before them. During last summer they had enormous advantages over rivals of other nations in sending goods to Manchuria, and they made free use of them, working day and night to meet their orders. Five of the leading mills around Osaka united for Manchurian trade, and the Japanese Government assisted them in various ways. They were given nominal rates for the carriage of their goods to Manchuria, the capital necessary for their venture was found under what was virtually a Government guarantee, and the leading business house in Japan, the Mitsui, became their selling and distributing agent. The Japanese newspapers announced that exports of at least twelve thousand bales a year were to be kept up, even though there was some loss, and

that the Mitsui Company was not only going to do its best to push sales, but would for the time give its services free of cost.

Manchuria and China naturally form the great fields for Japanese exports. But a special effort is being made to conquer the Indian market also. The Government has brought over large numbers of patterns of material used by the Indian peoples, and has carefully distributed them where they will be most useful. The subsidised shipping trade to Calcutta is being increased, and a clever semi-political movement has been promoted for some months in parts of India to secure cordiality for Japan among the people, and therefore a sympathetic appreciation for Japanese goods.

The Japanese hope, within the next few years, to acquire practically the whole Manchurian and the greater part of the North China cotton-market. To do this, they will have to multiply their existing output many times, but they have abundant labour for that. They base their expectations of victory on very solid grounds. They will have the cheapest possible freight, particularly if they succeed, as they are now trying to do, in driving some of the English shipping lines out of the Northern Pacific waters. Even when the lesser efficiency of Japanese mill-hands is allowed for, labour costs much less at Osaka than at Oldham. Already Japanese shirtings are under-selling American goods of apparently similar quality in Manchuria by about 30 per cent. Cheapness here is bound to tell, and cheapness lies with the Japanese. Politically, Japan will have a great advantage in these parts, for Chinese boycotts so far have all been against Europeans and Americans, and never against Japanese.

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF JAPANESE COTTON GOODS ALONG THE RAILWAY IN MANCHURIA.

CHAPTER XII

THE OPEN DOOR

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THE OPEN DOOR

AT the beginning of the Russian War, the Japanese Government announced that it had two main objects in view—the maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of Korea, and the continuance of the "open door" for trade in the Far East. "We are not fighting our own battle alone," Japanese publicists proclaimed, time after time. "We are fighting the battle of all civilisation, and we are working for the commercial benefit of all trading nations."

The supposed maintenance of the independence of Korea turns out to mean in reality the absorption of Korea by Japan. This is now admitted, and the friends of Japan declare that that country has a perfect right to reward itself, by taking Korea, for the arduous labours and heavy outlays during the war. The fiction of the "open door" is still diplomatically maintained. In reality Japan has violated her solemn promises about the "open door" as much as about Korean independence.

The story of what has happened in Korea best shows the results of Japanese dominance upon world commerce. The Hermit Kingdom has for too long been regarded as a negligible mercantile possibility. Here is a land more than half as large again as England and with a population of twelve millions. It is rich in unworked minerals; it has several gold mines, large quantities of

inferior coal, and immense iron-ore fields. The climate is as good as that of New England at its best. The trade is certainly small, but that is because the country is only partly opened up ; it is capable of great developments. In Manchuria, trade multiplied fivefold in the ten years before the war. In Korea, trade increased nearly threefold in four years, and is still growing. An import trade of over three millions a year is not to be despised.

When the Japanese acquired the supreme control of Korea in February, 1904, they quickly revealed a desire to secure for themselves the whole of the national commerce. They particularly aimed at a monopoly of the unworked resources of Korea. The Seoul Government had entered into treaties with a number of Powers establishing the "open door," and trade was free to all nations on the same terms.

Japan's first step was to secure a pledge from Korea that no concessions would be granted or contracts given to foreigners without her being first consulted. This was followed by a much bolder move. I have already described how a concession of all the forest fields and waste lands was demanded, for a Mr. Nagamori, a former Japanese official. One man, standing out against this Nagamori scheme, aroused the resentment of the Japanese. Dr. Allen, the American Minister in Seoul, was the doyen of the Diplomatic Body and a close friend of the Korean Emperor. He was one of America's ablest and best representatives in Asia, and he had done well for his countrymen in their fights for concessions. Dr. Allen was thought to be too strong and too independent to suit the Japanese. Influence against him was brought to bear directly on President

Roosevelt. It was suggested that Dr. Allen was pro-Russian, and not a *persona grata* at Tokyo. Consequently the Minister was summarily dismissed, with rather less courtesy than one would show to a disgraced lackey.

The Japanese soon came against another strong man, Mr. McLeavy Brown, of the Customs. Mr. McLeavy Brown had long been notably friendly to the Japanese, and he had in former years been regarded as a bulwark against the Russification of the land. But he was, above all things, a lover of fair dealing. In his Customs service he had never allowed national prejudices to guide him, and he did not propose to do so now. The Japanese determined to remove him.

This was apparently a task of greater difficulty than the clearance of Dr. Allen. When the Russians tried to expel Mr. Brown, the British Government had backed him up with its fleet. But the Japanese succeeded where the Russians had failed. Mr. Brown's position was made intolerable. A Japanese financial adviser, Mr. Megata, was given control of the spending of the Customs revenue, and the Commissioner found himself hemmed in. Finally, goaded by pin-pricks, and maybe desiring to bring matters to a crisis, Mr. Brown resigned. He possibly expected the British Government to support him. To the surprise of many, our Government did nothing, the resignation was eagerly accepted, a Japanese stepped into the office, and Mr. Brown left the country. Other foreigners in the Customs service left about the same time, and a number of Japanese were brought in.

Charges of partiality now began to crop up against the Japanese administration of the Customs. It has

been repeatedly stated that they favour their own people, and definite cases can be quoted to support the charge. To give an instance which I personally verified, a doctor in the interior of Korea ordered two consignments of medicines about the same time, one from Japan and the other from America. When they arrived, the American goods were charged 7½ per cent. duty, and the Japanese 5 per cent. I mentioned this case to a Japanese Customs official and asked him for an explanation. He declared that probably it was a mistake. There were different duties in the Korean Customs for medicines used solely as medicines and those used partly as food, he told me, and local officials must have mistaken the medicines and thought they belonged to the food class. But one comes across so many "mistakes" of this kind that one gets rather tired of them.

When I last travelled through the country a considerable amount of smuggling was going on from Japan. Goods, particularly cigarettes, were being introduced through Fusan as "railway supplies." This was an old trick of the Russians in Manchuria. At Sin-Wiju, Japanese goods were brought in freely without payment of duty. This has now been stopped by the establishment of a Custom-house.

In Korea, mines have been the personal property of the Emperor and concessions were to be had only from him. The Japanese took the right of granting concessions from the Emperor and vested it in the Japanese Resident-General. From the point of view of the ordinary business man it would hardly seem satisfactory for England to agree that her leading commercial rival in this field should seize sole power

to distribute, retain, or control all mines as she pleased, without a protest. But presumably such business considerations are below the attention of Governments. It is not to be wondered at that, being given unchecked power, Japan has preferred her own people. Japanese prospectors and engineers were allowed to go freely over the north surveying and inspecting the land. European and American engineers who attempted to travel northwards were hindered in every possible way. They were delayed as long as possible in Seoul. When they started for up-country they were threatened, and occasionally physically ill-treated. The Residency-General delayed allotting licences for some time, and made a great parade of the impartiality it would show when the day of allotment came. The final and inevitable result happened. Nearly all the concessions were given to Japanese prospectors or to their Korean dummies. Nothing else could have been expected.

Under any circumstances, Japan must have acquired the lion's share of Korean trade. Owning the railway, having secured for her people the right of internal navigation in Korean waters, running the Customs, and distributing the contracts, she has an immense start of all others. Only one thing remains to be done to make the Japanese trade domination of Korea complete and final. That is the transference of Korea to the Japanese Customs Union. Some time ago I asked the Marquis Ito if any such step was contemplated. He replied that he could not then answer the question, although no doubt there would have to be a revision of Korean taxation, in which the matter of Customs would be raised.

This inclusion of Korea under the Japanese tariff

has been advocated by many Japanese newspapers, and has recently been discussed by the Japanese Parliament. The difficulty in the way is that the step can only be taken with the consent of the Powers already in treaty relations with Korea. This consent will be difficult to secure. A more easy change, and one that will strike at parts of our trade, is the formation of Government monopolies in Korea on the line of the Japanese monopolies. A tobacco monopoly has already been proposed. Such a plan would be a means of injuring the successful rival of the Japanese monopolists, the British-America Tobacco Company.

Three years ago the trade of Korea was open to every man. To-day the independent administrator of the Customs has gone, his place being taken by a Japanese; concessions and contracts have been showered upon Japanese speculators by Japanese officials; and foreign employés have been reduced in number to make room for Japanese agents. The Japanese have the power, and the great foreign nations are indifferent.

Manchuria shows the same tendency. Four years ago this province promised to be one of the most hopeful new fields for British and American trade. The port of Newchwang—then almost wholly in the hands of British merchants—prospered greatly.

We had a flourishing silk export business from Antung, and a large part of the shipping even from Liaotung Peninsula was done in British bottoms. There were many alarming reports that Russia intended to frame a hostile tariff against us in this province, but nothing happened.

Then came the war, and for a time all the ordinary trade of Manchuria was interrupted. Both Japanese

and Russians found it necessary to impose innumerable restraints upon commerce, as was inevitable. The end of the war saw the main commercial section of the Manchurian Railway in Japanese hands ; new railways, notably from Antung to Moukden, had been built and owned by Japanese ; it found all the ports in Japanese hands, even the Customs at Newchwang being controlled by the Japanese army.

White merchants expected and demanded that, now war was over, facilities should be given to them to enter the country. These facilities were kept back from white men, month after month, although they were freely granted to private Japanese traders. The most favourable sections of land at the great ports were taken by force by the Japanese from the Chinese, and were allotted to Japanese merchants.

Soon many complaints were heard. Here is a typical one. A well-known English firm at Chefoo has a big business in silk cocoons from Antung. In the autumn following the conclusion of peace the Japanese authorities demanded an export tax of a mace (about $3\frac{3}{4}d.$) a thousand cocoons before it would allow the goods to leave the port. As it takes two hundred thousand cocoons to make a bale of silk, this tax spelt ruin. The firm proceeded to ship out its goods despite the Japanese. It succeeded in removing about thirty million cocoons, when the Japanese seized the remainder, about ten millions. They detained these until the water around Antung became frozen, and export was impossible that year.

Such a case, and cases like it, may have been the mistakes of individual Japanese administrators. Two other lines of action, however, could not be thus

explained away. These are the long-maintained closing of Tairen to foreign shipping and the preference given to Japanese goods from Tairen on the railway over foreign goods from Newchwang.

From the day Japan acquired control of Tairen in 1904 no British or other foreign trading ship was permitted to use the port until last September. Japanese ships were freely allowed to enter immediately after the war. No British or foreign trader was allowed to settle at Tairen, although Japanese merchants freely settled. It is true that one British subject did manage to remain in the city during the summer of 1906, but he did so by a series of very elaborate and clever subterfuges. All facilities and encouragement were given to Japanese settlers, while the door was shut in the face of the foreigner. The natural result was that Japanese exports to Manchuria last year rose very largely, while the go-downs of Shanghai were stocked with the British goods that could not be delivered. The Japanese goods could enter Tairen free of duty; British goods in British ships intended for Manchuria had to go to Newchwang, and to pay duty.

It is sometimes denied that the Japanese gained much advantage by this means. They gained a year's start on their competitors and they succeeded in disposing of an appreciable quantity of goods. Thus one export firm alone, the Sanyei Kumiai, stated in June that it had sent 1,000 bales of cotton goods in May, and that it was prepared to ship 1,500 bales in June, 2,000 bales in July, 2,500 bales in August, and 3,000 bales in September.

When questions were asked in Parliament last summer about the continued exclusion of British

shipping from Tairen, it was officially stated that, although British steamers were not allowed in, the junk traffic had been reopened since the spring. The implication, of course, was that British goods could thus enter on equal terms with Japanese. The Foreign Office could not, perhaps, be expected to know that while goods coming in Japanese steamers paid no duty, goods coming in junks would already have paid full duty from the Chinese port whence they sailed.

Japanese merchants early last year made no secret of the fact that they were securing a real advantage in Manchuria. The president of the Osaka Cotton Spinning Company stated publicly in June : " Japanese goods enjoy a further advantage. They are admitted duty free at Tairen, while American goods have to pay a duty of about eight shillings a bale at Newchwang. This privilege of the Japanese will be removed sooner or later."

Tairen is now open to foreign shipping. The opening was delayed as long as possible, and the delay did its work in giving the Japanese trader the start. The obvious next step in Japanese policy is to use the ownership of the railway to help Tairen as against Newchwang. This is being done. When in Tairen last I found that the Japanese were dividing the railway into two zones, so far as rates were concerned. In the section where goods from Newchwang would go northwards, rates were from 60 to 100 per cent. higher than over the southern section of the line, where the Tairen goods had to go.

The manipulation of the railway, the acquisition of the best sites for the Japanese, and the long closing

of Tairen have combined to produce great uneasiness among British merchants in the Far East. Many of them believe, and what I have seen compels me to agree with them, that a Japanese domination of Northern China would spell ruin to British trade there.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PROBLEM OF THE EMIGRANT

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A GENERATION ago the white nations around the Pacific were faced and aroused by the problem of the Chinese emigrant. So far back as 1871 a great agitation in California against the Mongolians culminated in an election when 54,638 votes were cast against the Chinese and only 883 in their favour. America and Australia passed rigid laws limiting the incoming of the yellow man, and a racial bitterness was generated that can only be realised by those who have lived in those countries.

To-day the problem of the moment is the incoming, not of the Chinese, but of the Japanese. The issue here is altogether graver. In the case of China, America and our colonies had to deal with an Oriental power unable to defend its subjects abroad; with Japan we are faced by a nation whose capacity to maintain what it considers its rights is only equalled by its sensitiveness. When the people of California sought to repeat with the Japanese the agitation that had been so successful against the Chinese, they found themselves met by an angry and resolute Government. It was not for nothing that Viscount Hayashi threatened in the Japanese Parliament that if the American courts gave a decision unfavourable to the Japanese, "the anti-Japanese movement in California

would be considered to represent the opinion of the whole of the United States." The Californian authorities, in raising the question of Japanese immigration when they did, played directly into the hands of the Japanese Government. Nothing suited Japan better than to be able to force the situation. It has given her an opportunity of bargaining for an understanding that will allow her a more free hand for her people in Manchuria, on condition that her coolies are excluded from America.

The breach in California will almost certainly oe patched up. Japan has not the money at the present time to enable her to enter on a new war, and America has neither the ships nor the soldiers on the Pacific to permit her to defend Hawaii, to hold the Philippines, or to punish Japan. But the problem remains. America will strengthen her Pacific fleet, and add to her island fortifications. The Japanese people, limited in their eastward movement by their Government, will strengthen their forces for further advance. Before many years are over the whole issue will have to be faced again. Then America will be less unprepared than she was at the close of 1906.

Japanese immigration to-day may be divided into three great classes. The first class is where the Japanese go to countries in which they find themselves in direct competition with white labour. It is here that trouble between the brown and the white man is most likely. In the second class the Japanese go as labourers for the whites in places where white labour is unsuitable. Here we have an arrangement that is on the whole agreeable to both parties, although it contains the germs of future trouble. In the third

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

A SLUM IN TOKYO.

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

THE SUMMIT OF 203 METRE HILL, SHOWING CROSSES ERECTED OVER GRAVES OF FALLEN RUSSIAN SOLDIERS.

PRELIMINARY COPY

class we have the Japanese going as conquerors and settling among inferior peoples. Each of these has to be considered by itself.

It is necessary to remember, in dealing with this problem, that emigration from Japan is directed by the Government. No Japanese is allowed to leave his own country without a passport, and without providing guarantors that he will return when called upon by the authorities. The usual time limit for such passports is three years. The Government decides each month how many people shall be allowed to go abroad and where they shall go, and the Government never leaves hold of them when they are abroad. Japanese people rarely, if ever, become the permanent subjects of another country. Sometimes, as in British Columbia, they naturalise themselves to obtain privileges or concessions, such as fishing licences, but they regard such naturalisation as a purely temporary matter. They marry among their own people. They are strong believers in maintaining the purity of their race, and their patriotism prevents them from amalgamation with other nations. Thus we have, with the Japanese even more than with the Chinese, a separate, unsolvable element in white communities.

It is this that has helped to make the Japanese so unpopular as permanent residents among Caucasians. Every visitor to the Far East knows that in community after community, from Singapore to Sydney on the one side, or to Shanghai on the other, the Japanese is feared, suspected, and disliked. No doubt this feeling is caused to some extent by his merits as well as by his defects. There always seems to be a veil of reserve between him and the white races. "East

is East and West is West," and the East is no less East because it puts on a frock coat and patent leather shoes. Among the Pacific communities, the Japanese is with them and yet not of them, and those who have lived closest among this race and would fain know them best, are obliged to admit with Lafcadio Hearn, "I have learnt about Japan only enough to convince me that I know nothing about Japan."

British Columbia presents an example of a province where the Japanese enter in direct competition with home labour. The British Columbian authorities have tried in many ways to keep back the Japanese inflow, but they are held in check by the Ottawa Government. As late as the beginning of 1907, a member from that province made a very vigorous protest in the Dominion Parliament against the Japanese, declaring that their labourers were practically slaves under the control of labour bosses, and that the importation of them was unfair to the white people. Sir Wilfrid Laurier then laid down the principle upon which the Dominion Government has apparently acted, that "Japan is no longer a country of Asiatic civilisation, it is fast becoming a European country." "If we want the trade of Japan, we cannot treat the Japanese population with contempt," he said. "We must recognise their value, and that they are allies of Great Britain. There is a great and always increasing tendency towards more intimate and closer relations between the nations of the East and the nations of the West."

Five years ago, this question of the Japanese immigration to British Columbia was made the subject of a Royal Commission. The report of that Commission was on the whole decidedly hostile. Reading over

the evidence given before it, one is struck by the fact that the main objection to the Japanese was purely economic. Certain witnesses made protests against their moral ideals and the ways of living, but they were few. The great issue was that the Japanese undersell white men, that they employ methods which white men will not use. "The Japanese," the Commission reported, "are regarded as likely to prove keener competitors than the Chinese, in gardening, in lumbering, in fishing, and in ordinary labour." Witness after witness declared that they were finding the Japanese a more formidable rival than the Chinaman had ever been.

In summarising its views the Commission said: "The Japanese . . . is more independent, energetic, apt, and ready and anxious to adopt, at least in appearance, the manners and mode of life of the white man. He avails himself of every opportunity to learn English, and often makes it a condition of his contract of hiring that he may do so. It is said he is not as reliable in respect of contracts as the Chinese are, and that, while adopting to a certain extent our habits of life, he more readily falls into the vices of the white man than the Chinaman does. . . . The consensus of opinion of the people of British Columbia is that they do not and cannot assimilate with white people, and that while in some respects they are less undesirable than the Chinese, in that they adopt more readily our habits of life and spend more of their earnings in the country, yet in all that goes to make for the permanent settlement of the country they are quite as serious a menace as the Chinese and keener competitors against the workingman, and, as they have more energy, push, and independence, more dangerous in this regard than the Chinese."

The Commission quoted an American authority: "Under the Japanese law every subject is registered in his native prefecture, which he may not leave without permission of the authorities and from which he, or she, must obtain their passport, when they desire to emigrate. Inasmuch as the Government claims the perpetual allegiance of its subject, it grants a passport, limited to three years, and I was informed that a large part of the emigrants who thus go abroad return to their native land sooner or later, and consequently few Japanese, and indeed I may say none, come to the United States with a view to remaining or making homes—the theory of their emigration system being for the promotion of emigration as an educational process and money-making investment for a temporary period, the profits of which accrue jointly to the promoter and to the emigrant, the Japanese Empire being the recipient of what may be described as the unearned increment through its people that thus go abroad, through their contact with more enlightened people, and by reason of the accumulated capital, which they return to their native land. It is through tenacious allegiance which the subjects of Japan yield to their sovereign that the promotion of emigration becomes a reasonably safe business."

The American Indians were even more hostile to the Japanese than the whites. One Indian chief, speaking for a group of them, summed up the Indian point of view. "The Japanese come to this country, they come too thick altogether. It don't matter where you go you see Japanese. You go to the Fraser River you see Japanese, hundreds in the summer-time. You go to Howe Sound, nothing but Japanese. You go

to Indian River, just the same, nothing but Japanese. In fishing-time we have no chance to fish ourselves, and when we begin to fish we put our net into the boat and we go out to fish. Two or three nights we lost our nets. I lost mine : the Japanese cut it. I saw it was cut. I saw the Japanese cut it. I caught the man. The Japanese thick on Point Gray : I have no chance to fish, so I can't fish. There are too many Japanese. You see boats three miles out from the coast, nothing but Japanese, and so we cannot make a living. The Japanese kill us : they are killing Indians, killing whites. My people have no chance to make a living. Can't make bread-and-butter ; no chance to go to work ; they are all over ; they work for nothing. They began about ten years ago and got thicker, thicker, thicker all the time, and last year too thick altogether."

In Hawaii we find the second class of Japanese immigration ; that where the coolies go as labourers for white people. To-day the Japanese outnumber all other nations in Hawaii. There they have been seen at their best as emigrants. For some time there was practically no difficulty with them ; recently however, owing to their increasing numbers, they are beginning to assert themselves in a way that threatens future trouble. Yet on the whole the Japanese emigrants have been efficient workers. The main issue in Hawaii is whether the Japanese or the Chinese make the more suitable labourers. On first impression, the Japanese is decidedly preferred. He is clean, and he insists upon cleanliness in his surroundings. He will not stay at a place where he cannot obtain hot water for his bath. If left alone he is fairly orderly,

although he can be, if necessary, very riotous; he is a hard worker, and he spends very little. But on longer acquaintance the favourable effect produced by these good points is somewhat modified. One of the chief complaints about the Japanese is that they are always on the look-out for opportunities when they can strike, or use moments of difficulty to extort higher wages. Since the war the Japanese coolies have been followed by groups of small Japanese merchants who represent one of the less desirable elements of Japanese immigration.

A very striking report was made on this matter in 1903 by Mr. Carroll D. Wright, the distinguished United States Commissioner of Labour, an official whose impartiality and capacity are universally recognised. In comparing the Chinese and Japanese labourers Mr. Wright declared that the sugar-planters have usually though not unanimously been in favour of the Chinese. The Chinaman is the more steady and reliable, while the Japanese has greater physical strength. "The Japanese," said Mr. Wright, "is more cleanly about his person and tidy about his surroundings, and adopts much more readily all the superficial tokens of Caucasian civilisation. He wears European clothing, carries a watch, and seeks most eagerly for variety in life. He is constantly visiting new places and trying his hand at new trades. He represents the radical, the Chinaman the conservative, side of Oriental character. His white employers consider him mercurial, superficial, and untrustworthy in business matters. His vices are more occidental than those of the Chinese. He does not fall a victim to opium or the unnatural practices of the latter, but is fond of intoxicants.

Partly on account of his religion he is usually kind to animals and largely vegetarian in his diet. When the Japanese first began to arrive in the country one of the difficulties employers experienced was to persuade them to eat enough wholesome and strength-sustaining food to do a fair day's work. The Chinaman is said by planters to spend half again as much for his provisions as a Japanese. He eats meat, and not unusually is to be seen tramping home to his quarters with a canvas-wrapped ham on his shoulder. In matters of business honour, the Chinaman is considered vastly more reliable. He seldom deserts a contract, even though he lose heavily, while a Japanese will walk off and leave a manager in the lurch if he fails to get what he considers a profitable bargain."

The Chinese sometimes settle down and become permanent members of the population of a foreign country, but the Japanese never. A certain proportion of the Chinamen who go to Hawaii marry there, adopt European ways and become semi-European. But once a Japanese, always a Japanese. "It is certain that Japan never lets go of its citizens, and does not intend that they shall form permanent ties in another country. This fact has so far distinguished Japanese immigration into Hawaii from European immigration into the United States. The Japanese, with his inherited reverence for the authority of his Government, is not a free agent in the social or industrial world and does not sever himself from the influence of his native rulers when he passes beyond the sphere of their political control."

The third class, where the Japanese go as conquering people, can be found in Formosa, Korea, and Manchuria.

Of Formosa, I am not qualified to speak from personal observation. In Korea and Manchuria one sees the Japanese at their worst. The scores of thousands of people who have poured over the Straits of Tsushima since the war have assumed an arrogant and domineering manner, a ruthlessness and a plan of systematic bullying which amazed those who only knew the Japanese at home. There are few Europeans in Korea, for instance, but can tell of ill-treatment and of petty tyranny from the minor Japanese. The stories I heard and verified on the spot in 1906 of white men and white women assaulted and abused made my blood boil more than once. What happens to them happens a hundredfold more to the natives. I have already detailed such treatment in previous chapters.

The Japanese in Korea and Manchuria scrupulously preserve their own manner of living. Their aim seems to be to build in each place an exact copy of one of their home towns. The houses are of the same type, with the paper screens, the dainty ornamental doors, and the clean-matted floors. After a few houses have gone up, a school and a bath-house quickly follow, for both are essentials of Japanese life. Soon Japanese women of finer mould settle down. The geisha comes in numbers, and the twang of the samisen is heard day and night. The stores—mostly selling nothing but Japanese goods—multiply. It is a point of honour with Japanese in other Pacific lands to buy only home-made goods and to buy them from their own countrymen.

The people of Australia already realise that the outward movement of the Japanese is creating a new

problem for them. To-day the Mongol is strictly excluded from Australia except in very limited numbers and for defined purposes. The Japanese view of this exclusion was clearly expressed by Professor Ishikawa, the Delegate from Tokyo University to the Melbourne Jubilee Celebrations in July last. In answer to a question respecting the prohibition of his countrymen from settling in Australia, he then said: "Needless to say, neither I nor my country-people like it. It is not so much that we are prevented from fulfilling a desire to come if the desire seized us, but we feel that our national dignity is affected. Surely an outcry would be raised if we were to apply the same principles to Britishers, not because they might want to come and would be thus prevented, but because of the inference which would necessarily follow. It really means that one nation considers another unworthy to enter its gates. We have a treaty with your nation, and yet you class us as unworthy to enter. Of course some folks have an idea that if the prohibition were removed, practically all Japan is so eager to escape from its own country that it would emigrate to Australia. It is a ridiculous one. We Japanese love our own country just as much as other nationalities do theirs, and the bulk of our people would no more dream of coming away from it than do the bulk of the Germans because Australia is open to the people of that nation."[1]

Australia knows that the incoming of the Japanese would mean the destruction of its carefully erected industrial system, a system which, whatever else may be said, means that the working-man obtains higher

[1] Interview in Australasian *Review of Reviews*.

wages for his labour, compared with the cost of living, and a better time, than probably in any other land on the earth. Australia knows that her shores are open to easy attack. She stands almost undefended save for the name and the prestige of England behind her. Before British fleets could come down to guard her from serious danger, all of her capitals could be laid in ruins. The north-west lies almost uninhabited and wholly undefended. *The Sydney Bulletin* summarised the issue in a cartoon where it showed the Japanese, depicted in very uncomplimentary fashion, standing outside the northern territory. Underneath was written :

THE WRITING ON THE WALL
Northern Territory.—Area 523,620 square miles.
Population, 3,400—1 person to 150 square miles—
Debt, £900 per inhabitant.
No Railway.—No Assistance Near.—Walk in.

It is this slanting shadow of the Orient to the South that caused Australia last autumn to promote her new schemes for national defence, a national army and a torpedo flotilla. It was this that made statesmen as far apart as Mr. Deakin, the Premier, and Mr. J. C. Watson, the Labour Leader, join in common agreement. Mr. Watson proclaimed the real issue in clearer tones than the Premier, hampered by official obligations, could. "The pressure of population," he said, "in the older parts of the world, and the awakening of what is colloquially known as 'The East,' constitute at least a potential menace to any people situated as we are. Our wide areas of un-

peopled territory, rich with unrealised possibilities, must inevitably prove an attraction to nations confined within boundaries too small for the natural expansion of their populations. Even where there exists no desire to form colonies as such, the necessity of finding markets for manufactures points to the probability of friction and possible aggression on the part of old-world nations. . . . Just as it is criminal to encourage an unnecessary war, so it is suicidal to neglect adequate preparation for defence against aggression."

New Zealand is awakening to the situation. "One of the greatest perils that the dwellers in the outlying portions of the empire in the Southern Seas have to face is the Yellow Peril," recently said Sir Joseph Ward, the Prime Minister of New Zealand. "Near the borders of China is a nation, closely allied, capable of teaching it, in warfare, the discipline essential to its success."

The shadow has fallen on California and it is lengthening over Australia. The shadow deepens!

CHAPTER XIV

NEW CHINA

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CHINA is at last awakening from the sleep of centuries. The great Empire of the East, the oldest, the most populous, and the most highly organised on earth, has begun to modernise itself. For untold centuries the land of the Dragon lived its own life, haughty, exclusive, and indifferent to the rest of the world. Sixty years ago England forced it to open some of its ports to commerce, with the hard persuasion of brown-bess and cold steel. But England could not compel it to open its mind to Western influence.

The Chinaman, serene in his ancient civilisation, despised us. In his heart he mocked at our inventions. He scorned the idea that the mere contraction of distance by rapid transit and telegraph was of any real benefit to humanity, and he had a decided conviction that the substitution of machinery for hand labour was a curse. He doubted our morals and he regarded our family life, with its weak bonds between parents and children, as disgraceful. Our lack of reverence for old age was to him as horrible as we regard the cannibalism of the Pacific Islander. For English people, a nation of to-day, to attempt to instruct him, whose ancestors had great empire and good government in the year when Abraham led his flocks into Egypt, seemed little more than an odd jest.

While Japan was as wax before Western teaching, China was marble. This state of affairs continued apparently unchanged up to the time of the Boxer trouble, less than seven years ago. The Chinese authorities adopted the systematic policy of blocking reform. Now and then an official would arise, apparently touched by Western influences; occasionally a small group of students would be sent abroad to learn Western ways; sometimes a foreign adviser would be employed and his advice deliberately ignored. The Japanese War of 1894–5 was the first definite move towards the awakening of China. The Chinese were as astonished by the Japanese victories as we would be if the Channel Islanders defeated the English. They had regarded the men of Nippon as contemptible dwarfs, and they openly scorned them for what they considered their racial treachery in adopting Western ways. When the dwarfs easily defeated a nation ten times their number, Peking officialdom began to realise that modern weapons and modern training spell power.

The events that followed the war drove the lesson home. The wholesale seizure of Chinese territory by European Powers cut deep into the national heart. Germany took Kiao-chau, Russia Port Arthur, and England Wei-hai-wei. Foreign publicists sketched out schemes for the partitioning of China among the Powers, giving thirteen out of the eighteen provinces to England, Russia, Germany, Japan, and France. Even the bureaucrats in the Forbidden City knew that China had no power of resistance. The era of concessions and secret treaties followed.

One spasmodic attempt was made to transform the face of the nation. The young Emperor, Kwang-Sü,

fell under the influence of a great scholar and reformer, Kang-Yu-Wei. In the summer of 1898 the Emperor issued a series of proclamations which left the world breathless and amazed. One imperial edict sanctioned the use of temples as schools ; and a number of useless departments and obsolete offices were swept out of existence, taking the livelihood from thousands of officials.

A group of extremists recommended that the Emperor should go on a voyage around the world, and when the Board of Rights refused to present the memorial to the Emperor he dismissed six of its officials, in a sudden burst of passion. Freedom of the press was decreed, and one revolutionary edict granted to all subjects the right of petition direct to the Emperor. Still further schemes of sensational reform were afoot. It was commonly rumoured that the Emperor was taking lessons in Christianity ; it was proposed to abolish the existing system of classical examinations ; the kow-tow, the distinctive loyal obeisance, was to be swept away ; the telegraph was being used to promulgate imperial edicts ; and it was popularly believed that the Emperor intended to command his people to cut off their pig-tails and wear European dress.

The reactionaries and the displaced officials gathered together and found a leader in the Dowager Empress, Tzu-hi. The Dowager Empress proved herself then, as she has done since, one of the most remarkable women of her generation. The daughter of a petty Manchu official in Peking, she had been taken into the harem of the Chinese Emperor in her youth. There, thanks to her remarkable beauty and great gifts, she quickly rose to a foremost place. She became the friend and companion of the Empress, and on the

death of the Emperor the son of Tzu-hi was the next successor to the throne. When Tzu-hi's son became Emperor, the Empress Regent made her Dowager Empress. Tzu-hi's son died, and she, now the great power in the Palace, had a son of Prince Suen chosen as Emperor under the title of Kwang-Sü. The new Emperor was only four years old, and so the Empress Regent and the Dowager Empress exercised full control of affairs of State for many years. In 1880 the Empress Regent died and Tzu-hi now had entire power in her hands. When the young Emperor grew up and took supreme place, there was a constant war between him and the Dowager Empress, who had learnt to love the authority she had exercised so long. The revolt of the reactionaries gave her the chance she wanted. She acted quickly, and, before the Emperor could prevent it, by a masterly stroke made him a prisoner, and took the government of the country once more in her hands.

The whole land was in a ferment. Foreign Powers were growing daily more and more aggressive. Deep and not unnatural resentment was springing up against them among the people. A secret society determined to drive the foreigners out altogether, and the Boxer movement, in the end largely controlled and encouraged by the Dowager Empress herself, was the result. It was the dying struggle of stricken conservatism. The great burst of national passion was the flaming torch lighting the way to a new era. It only needed the Russo-Japanese War, with its proof of what a fully equipped Asiatic nation could do against Europeans, to clinch the new movement. The hour of the apparent failure of Western influence was the dawn

of the day of its success. The scorn and contempt for foreign ways and foreign learning have been sharply checked. Forced by hard experience, the dominant brains of the Empire have come to see that the upstart aud parvenu West has something to teach them. To-day, under the leadership of the Dowager Empress herself, the leading reforms which were proposed by Kang-Yu-Wei in 1898 are being largely carried out. The system of examinations has been changed, and classical learning put in a secondary place; the old type of officialdom has been given its deathblow; temples are being turned into schools and offices, and a new educational system has sprung up. The old-style warrior, armed with bow and arrow and drilled in making ugly faces to frighten his foe, is being swept away to make room for the khaki-clad soldier with magazine rifle. The railway, the telegraph, and the newspaper are spreading all over the Empire.

Woman, long confined to her home, is now taking her place in public life. Footbinding, the supreme device for the subjection of the weaker sex, is passing out of fashion. Schools are springing up as though by magic, and Western science and learning are taught in them. Young Chinese are going to other lands by the ten thousand. An industrial revolution has begun, and factories have come to stay.

Most revolutions begin from the bottom. This revolution has started from the top. It is not the mob that is urging reform on the rulers, but the rulers who are stirring up the mob. The changes were only permitted after long hesitation and careful inquiry. The very delay is the best proof that they will be pushed to the end.

What has brought about the new movement? One thing, and one thing only—the realisation by the Chinese that unless they do something the future of their Empire is doomed. Reform in this case is an outbreak of sincere patriotism.

One of the most remarkable features of the new movement is the use made of the press. The last few years have seen the rise of hundreds of daily papers, most of them with circulations running into many thousands and many with world cable services. Peking alone has over a dozen journals—including one for women, written largely by Chinese women. These, be it noted, are not enterprises begun by foreigners to teach the Chinese, but they are started and managed by the Chinese themselves. Foreigners are, it is true, trying to control the press for political reasons, the Japanese being particularly active in this direction. Some of the most bitterly anti-European journals in China to-day are under Japanese editorship. But the greater part of Chinese journalism is genuinely native, and is a response to the newly aroused passion for news among the people.

The various governors and viceroys have plunged into journalism. The Post Office collects subscriptions for, and distributes freely, three official organs. Throughout China, newspapers are officially posted on the walls for all to read. Those who formerly cared for nothing outside their own villages are now athirst with unquenchable curiosity about the affairs of the world. In walking through the back streets of Peking or other cities you will often notice men with papers in their hands reading to assembled crowds. These are newsmen, proclaiming the intelligence to the whole people.

The dominant note of these new journals may be summed up in a phrase, "Wake up, China." Six years ago, the message was "Awake and slay the foreigner." Now the cry is "Awake and make yourselves as good as the foreigner." "Are you dead men? Have you no heart?" the chief magistrate of Haicheng demands of his people in a journal which he issues and largely writes himself. "Would you sleep if a man had a sword at the throat of your father? Do you not realise that unless you stir yourselves and reform, Western nations will come in and take our land from us?"

Myriads of books and pamphlets of every kind are pouring from the press, and are being bought in wholesale fashion, rich men giving their money freely to help. Here again the only nation that is awake to the importance of this use of the press—apart from the missionaries—is Japan, and Japanese agents are circulating works calculated to influence China in their nation's favour on a very large scale. But the majority of the publications are purely Chinese. One of the most widely circulated of them, *A Plea for Patriotism*, shows the nature of the dominant appeal. "The Westerner assumes an attitude of overbearing superiority towards us," it says. "America shuts out our labourers. South Africa invites them and then treats them as though they were criminals. The reason for all this is to be found partly in ourselves. Our opium habit and our petty dishonesties have brought contempt upon us. But it is high time to reform."

The abolition of classical examinations for civil service appointments is perhaps the most important of all the changes. China is one of the most highly organised

bureaucracies on earth, and its highest official appointments are open to the humblest youth. The only road to office—save in exceptional cases—was, until a few months ago, a minute knowledge of Confucian classics. To acquire this, a young man had to devote the best years of his life to unceasing study of old books. No surer means could have been devised for putting him out of touch with actuality. Now, with a stroke of the pen, all this has gone. The first requirement for office now is not that a man shall know Confucius, but that he shall have been abroad.

Thousands of youths have dropped their classics and have gone to other lands, most of them to Japan. A smaller number have come even to Europe and America, and to-day there are about a hundred picked students in England. One leading official of my acquaintance declares that the best blow that can be struck for reform is to despatch fifty thousand picked young men for training to England and America. I understand that he is endeavouring to induce the imperial authorities to co-operate in some such scheme, but so far it remains in the region of dreams. In the early autumn of last year there were between thirteen and fourteen thousand Chinese students in Japan, mainly in Tokyo, the Japanese Government having given them every possible encouragement. When last in Japan I examined carefully the system of education adopted for these young men in the Japanese capital. Theoretically it is admirable, and some of the teachers are capable, broad-minded, and thoroughly trained. But I came to the conclusion then that the whole system was vitiated by one fault. In place of giving students a thorough education, lasting over

several years, the Japanese authorities have prepared "cramming" courses in which the Chinese is given a smattering of foreign learning in six months or even less. I found that the overwhelming majority of the students do not stay for more than six months, and very many try to get their foreign education finished in three. In one of the largest of the colleges I asked the Principal how many students had remained for the three years' course. He answered, "Not one." The result of this has already been seen in the examinations in China, the Japanese-trained students having come out very badly indeed. The Japanese press tries to explain this on the ground that the Chinese examiners are prejudiced against students who have gone to Japan. The more obvious reason is the right one. To attempt to change the current of men's thought and education in six months is ludicrous.

In many of the provinces, viceroys and governors have started not only schools, but social institutes, mercantile clubs, and debating societies of every kind. The governors themselves join in the work of these institutes, and practically act the part of University Extension Lecturers. Thus at the time I passed through Moukden, the Tartar-General there was taking a great interest in a debating club he had opened, and was himself leading in the discussions. This society dealt freely with all the burning political questions of the day. Viceroy Yuan-Shih-kai, the great Viceroy of Chi-li, during the last autumn delivered lectures in a merchants' club at Tientsin, on constitutionalism, commerce, and reform.

New systems of sanitation are being carried out in many of the great towns. Streets are being widened,

and many street-lighting schemes have been begun. Not long ago the Chinese resolutely prevented the construction of railways; to-day, China is building railways in all directions. Peking is now within two days' journey of Hankow, the commercial centre of the Empire. Hankow will soon be within two days' of Canton. Within a few years a series of lines will branch out from Hankow, which will make China as easily traversed as America is to-day. The railways that already are opened are being freely used by all classes, and they are doing much to revolutionise the thought of the people.

China is becoming more and more a united nation. The viceroys and governors now see for themselves, in place of listening to rumours. The journey to the capital, which not long since involved a month of hard, dangerous, and difficult travelling, can be done in two days, with every accompaniment of luxury. When China was defeated by Japan, cynical observers remarked that the people of the inner provinces would not know for years that there had been a war, and that when the news reached them they would be told stories of victory. Now the post, the telegraph, and the train make the events of to-day in one city the common talk of half China within a week. The reforms in Chi-li, as a case in point, are leading to changes in every part of the Empire, the viceroys of other provinces having visited there, and witnessed the benefits of the new departures. The same causes that are bringing all parts of China closer together are bridging over the gulf of distance between the East and West. Not many years ago Peking was fifty days from London. Then the journey was reduced

to about thirty-five days; now, thanks to the Siberian Railway, one can go from Charing Cross to the Forbidden City in a little over twenty days; before many years, when the contemplated railway between Peking and Irkutsk is completed, Peking will be within fourteen days' journey of London. The Chinaman will then be an actuality in our streets as he never has been before.

Here then we have China in the first stage of renaissance. The change has only begun. There are admittedly great regions yet untouched by the new movement. But the growth within the past eighteen months has been so rapid that even the transformation of Japan bids fair to be left behind for speed and for completeness. A new patriotism has sprung up in the hearts of the people. This great nation, with its enormous, unworked resources, with its merchant princes whose wealth and enterprise can compare with the greatest of our own, with its vast supplies of cheap and capable labour, is stepping out of darkness into light.

How will it affect us? How will it touch that civilisation which Europe has built up with tears and prayers and high endeavour in the course of many centuries? Is the coming of the Chinaman for weal, or is it for woe? Will he be the sinister shadow clouding and darkening our future? Are the old dreams of the Yellow Peril, of the millions of armed men to be flung against us as Goths were flung against ancient Rome, likely to become actual facts? Or is he to be a new factor in bringing to this old earth of ours that beatific age of which seers and poets have ever dreamt? On the answer to these questions largely depends the future of the world.

Such a movement influencing so vast a nation, with such ancient and established customs, cannot be accomplished easily or without great set-backs. It is almost certain that the birth-throes of the new era will be tumultuous. The conservatives will, at times, appear to triumph ; the reformers, one day in favour, will the next be in disgrace ; and many of the men now leading the new movement will probably end their lives the victims of popular passion or court intrigue. But the movement will go on, and ebb will be ever followed by greater flow. For there are forces behind it, the impulse of economic necessity, the desire for national reassertion and the ambition for world honour, before which reaction will break its force in vain.

CHAPTER XV

VICEROY YUAN—REFORMER

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IN the great palace on the river bank at Tientsin, with demonic figures painted on the outer gate to tell of stern justice within, lives Yuan Shih-kai, Viceroy of Chi-li, leader of the Reform Movement, and the strongest personality in China.

As becomes one who is lord of many millions, he is surrounded by great state. The splendours of his palace, with its gorgeously coloured walls, its magnificent adornments, its myriad electric lights, its priceless treasures in silk and art and pottery scattered profusely around, and its army of officials in wonderfully embroidered robes of gold and crimson and green and blue, might well exhaust powers of description. Every robe is symbolic. The embroidered dragon on the breast of the high functionary, with its staring eyes, its fearsome teeth, and its gold-braided savagery, tells of the watchfulness of the man who wears it.

One of Yuan's great receptions, say on the birthday of the Emperor, calls to mind the Oriental courts of romance. At one end of the great central reception hall a Chinese play continues throughout the evening. The ceaseless clamour, the marvellous gymnastics, the high falsetto voices of the performers, whose dress reminds one of a fantastical Father Christmas, and the din of the musical

instruments, make a total that is striking if not harmonious. In the courtyard, you can listen to the strains of a Chinese military band, playing ragtime music, military marches, and classical selections indifferently. At intervals half of the bandsmen begin to sing, and as the strains of a familiar English air arise you might well believe yourself at home.

At such a reception one sees men of almost every race. Four years ago the Russian official was the most prominent of all. To-day the Russian is in the background, and numerous Japanese, in elaborately decorated European dress, take the front seats and push themselves to a foremost place. It seems part of the present Japanese policy in the Far East to substitute display for the careful self-repression of yesterday. The minor Japanese at such a function robe themselves in garments which lend the appearance of rank to the wearers. There are European officials of many nations at these receptions, other Europeans who take high places in Yuan's court, and the usual gathering of merchants and concession-hunters. The spies from Yuan's rivals are there, noting everything and ready to prepare facts for some fresh report to the court about the great Viceroy's ostentation. A score of languages are spoken around. Mandarin Chinese drops at times to lesser-known dialects. The official who shakes your hand and smiles cordially at you is a notable friend of reform, who has risked life half a dozen times to help to bring China into line with the West. The man in the central group, with wizened body, is the only known opium smoker in Yuan's service. Near him is one who is even now nursing and

Chinese photograph.

VICEROY YUAN SHIH-KAI AND HIS STAFF.

DIGITIZED BY

maturing schemes that he hopes will make him greater than Yuan himself. And in the centre of all is the Viceroy. He can never be taken for anything but a king among his fellows. With strong body, an immense head, and piercing eyes, he bears with him the sense of power. He is the man who has cut a clear way through the entrenched conservatism of his people. You notice that Yuan and his officials do not attempt to ape Western dress; silk garments, long robes, and pig-tails are still the fashion.

The entrances to the yamen are guarded by modern troops, and in the courtyards you can hear the hoarse voices of the drill-serjeants, busy shaping their companies. Outside the doors you will come upon groups of prisoners, with cangues around their necks—rough wooden squares about two feet six inches each way and with notices on them proclaiming the offences of their wearers. Do not fail to observe the towering wireless telegraph pole—Marconi system—a little outside the palace. Yuan lives amidst intrigue and has to guard against conspirators. Special telegraph wires connect him with the Forbidden City in Peking, and with his armies in the provinces. But he has to be prepared for the cutting of ordinary wires. Thanks to his wireless mast, he can keep up constant communication with his army at Paotingfu, and with his agents in the Imperial Palace, whatever his enemies may do.

Tientsin, where Yuan has his head quarters, is rapidly increasing in importance, both as a native city and as one of the main points for foreign residence and trade. There are two Tientsins adjoining one another—the foreign city, consisting of a group of concessions to foreign Powers, and the great native

town, said to contain a million people. The foreign city is admirably built and very healthy, and is one of the pleasantest European settlements in the Far East. Thanks to the fact that it is some distance up the river, it escapes the large and not wholly desirable element which gathers where many foreign liners and warships call. Originally there were three concessions, the British, French, and German. Within the past few years Russia, Belgium, Austria, and Japan have all taken over considerable areas of land. The Japanese are covering their domain with many hundreds of foreign-built houses, and with great warehouses. They are creating an active and important business centre of their own. The Russian Concession is the head-quarters of the gambling dens near the railway station ; but the people of Tientsin always, despite the curse of these dens, remember the Russians with gratitude. It was undoubtedly the magnificent fighting qualities of the Russian troops that saved Tientsin from destruction during the fierce days of 1900, when the Boxers attacked the foreign quarters.

The British Concession is the business centre of Tientsin ; the French Concession occupies a secondary place ; and the German Concession is being covered with numbers of very fine residences. No visitor arriving from the interior can fail to be charmed with the kindly and pleasant life, the good shops, the comfortable hotel accommodation, and the magnificent clubs. To me, coming as I did for the first time to Tientsin after a period of residence in Northern Korea and in the interior of Manchuria, it seemed that I had arrived in some fabled land of ease.

It is fitting that Tientsin should be the home of

China's progressive Viceroy. He lives, of course, not in the foreign city, but in his own great palace in the native part. No one who walks up the roadway around his yamen can fail to be struck by the fact that, admirable and comfortable as are the homes of well-to-do Europeans in the foreign settlement, they are hopelessly outdone in mere magnificence by the modern homes of the rich Chinese who have gathered around Yuan. One sees, along the river road, a line of palaces erected at a cost, and maintained in a style, that would be worthy of Park Lane or Fifth Avenue. They are the best testimony to the riches and prosperity of China's merchant princes.

Tientsin has played a leading part in modern Chinese life for many years. It was a point of departure in the expedition of the Allies in 1858. When Li Hung Chang became the premier statesman in China, he made his home here, holding the viceroyalty which Yuan now fills. In those days Tientsin was notorious as being one of the most disorderly centres in the Far East, and in 1870 an appalling massacre of French nuns took place in it. In 1890, during the Boxer trouble, Tientsin stood a long siege, and afterwards, when under the rule of a Provisional Government composed of representatives of the Allied Armies, it gave a remarkable example of temporary foreign rule in China. In 1892, the native city was handed back again to Viceroy Yuan, and it has since been an example in reform for all Asia to see.

Yuan is still a young man, barely fifty. In 1882 he was in Korea, in command of three thousand Chinese troops, sent there by the Peking authorities to maintain order. Three years later he went to Seoul as

Chinese Representative, and took the title of Resident. He was one of the leading figures in the assertion of Chinese suzerainty in Korea before the war, and doubtless he, like many others of his countrymen, found it impossible to believe that the four hundred millions of China could do anything but destroy the forty millions of Japan, who were daring to challenge them. But for the experience of the Chino-Japanese War, Yuan might have continued to this day as an official of the old type. He emerged from those times of defeat and disaster with one lesson burned into his brain. He realised that China could never be able to hold her own until she acquired the knowledge of the West, as Japan had done.

He returned to China a reformer. He was then a Taotai, a high official only two grades from a governor. In spite of his former control of his Chinese troops at Seoul, he was not a military man. But in China it is held that a clever administrator ought to be able to adapt himself to anything, whether it be the command of a battleship or the ruling of a province. A new force of modern-trained soldiers had been gathered together at Hsiao-Chau, and Yuan was placed in command of them. It was the chance of his life, and he took it. He proved to be a born general. He was honest and he demanded honesty in his subordinates. He himself laboured almost day and night, and he worked his soldiers as men had never been worked before under Chinese discipline. Soon the little army became famous as a really efficient force, the only one in China. The fuller story of his military experiences is told in the chapter on "The New Chinese Army," and need not be recapitulated here.

Soon there came a crisis in Yuan's career. He had to choose whether he would throw himself in with the new reform party at Peking, or serve under the Empress Dowager. Peking was torn with dissensions owing to the revolutionary edicts promulgated by the young Emperor. The conservative party gathered round the Empress Dowager. The Emperor's advisers determined to strike at the fountain head of their foes. The Emperor sent for Yuan, and in private conference ordered him to execute Jung-Lu, one of the leaders of the anti-reform party, to surround the palace of the Dowager Empress with troops, and to remove her to another place, by force if necessary. Jung-Lu was Yuan's old patron. The general could not strike at him without showing the basest ingratitude, for to Jung-Lu he had mainly owed his education and advance in life. Yuan demanded from the Emperor the orders in writing, and the Emperor, evidently expecting some such request, produced from his boot documents already sealed, and handed them over.

Then Yuan returned to Tientsin. He called on Jung-Lu. "I have commands from the Emperor concerning you," he said. "The orders are so terrible that I dare not tell them, but will give them to you to read."

Jung-Lu took the paper, read it, and bowed. "The will of the Emperor must be done," he said submissively.

Yuan assented. "But," said Yuan, "you must have certain private affairs to put in order. I will return to-morrow evening to fulfil the Emperor's commands."

Thereupon Yuan left. His meaning was obvious.

That night Jung-Lu hurried up to Peking, and saw the Dowager Empress. How the Dowager Empress rose to the occasion is a matter of history.

This action of Yuan's was and will be one of the most debated in his life. For myself, I am prepared neither to condemn nor approve, for one knows too well that beneath the open and surface facts of the case were others of which we can discover nothing. It was undoubtedly Yuan's action that killed the reform movement of 1898.

In the following year he was made Governor of Shantung. He took his army with him, and when the great trouble of 1900 came he protected the Europeans in his province and fought the Boxers. Although the whole country around was in a ferment, his province practically alone in the north was safe and secure. When the Dowager Empress issued a decree calling directly on the viceroys and governors to fight the foreigners, Yuan was one of the few who refused to obey. He and two others entered into an agreement with one another and with the foreign Powers that order would be maintained in their districts, but that the foreign troops and gunboats were to keep away from them. For a time Yuan was the most unpopular official in China. He was openly and constantly threatened with rebellion and with assassination, and it required a special guard of a thousand men, the pick of his troops, around his yamen gates, and an array of machine guns, to prevent a great uprising in his province against him, and to check the crowds that would have invaded his palace and torn him limb from limb.

The Boxer movement failed, and the Chinese

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

HOW LOAFERS ARE TAUGHT INDUSTRY IN CHINA.
A corner of Viceroy Yuan's model prison, Tientsin.

CLASSIFIED

discovered that, while even the great province of Chi-li was overrun with foreign soldiers, Shantung, under Yuan's administration, had been kept free from them. The despised and hated governor of yesterday became the popular hero of to-day, and Yuan was raised to the viceroyalty of Chi-li, the province around Peking, strategically and politically the most important in China. Backed by his inseparable soldiers, Yuan now started to make his influence felt throughout China. He first increased his army, adding division to division. Better weapons and more modern guns were brought in. At the same time Yuan entered upon a campaign of social and municipal reform.

His hand was quickly felt in Tientsin itself. Under the Provisional Government, composed of the representatives of the Powers, great reforms had been carried out in the native city. The old city wall was torn down, and a boulevard constructed in its place. The famous black forts had been destroyed, and an electric tramway run through the city; new and wide streets had been cut, sanitation introduced, and good order maintained. Under the Provisional Government Tientsin became an example to Chinese cities. Every one anticipated that as soon as the Chinese recovered possession it would revert to its old conditions of disorder, unhealthiness, and apathy. To the universal surprise, Yuan outdid the reforms of the Europeans. He made the streets still wider; he built new bridges; he established an excellent police force with a German in chief command under the Taotai, and a Scotchman as assistant superintendent. This police force, with about 28,00 Chinese constables

and over fifty Indians, is a model of its kind, and it maintains order and regulates traffic in a way not unworthy of a fine corps of British police. Yuan opened up fresh districts, and increased the value of land in some parts a hundredfold. His Local Board insisted that property owners in the main roads should rebuild their houses in a manner worthy of a great capital. He started schools of every kind—schools for boys and schools for girls, technical establishments for the poorer youth of the city, and higher-grade training centres for future officials. He enforced such discipline that to-day the young daughters of well-to-do Chinamen can walk to and from school unattended, and without insult.

One of his most striking reforms has been the construction of a model prison outside the city. The old type of Chinese prison was and is a place of horror. The scenes to be witnessed around the yamens of some of the mandarins are so awful that they give the European who is forced to behold them a fresh revelation of the possibilities of human fiendishness. In spite of the nominal abolition of torture, it is still carried out in some of the outlying parts of China, or was when I visited them late in the autumn of 1906. Yuan not only abolished torture, but made his new prison worthy of comparison with some of the best in the West. The Tientsin establishment is divided into two parts, one, holding six hundred, for the criminals, the other, holding fourteen hundred, for the loafers and idlers. A man who wilfully makes himself a charge on the community and will not work is sent to this loafers' prison. He is kept there for about six months; he is taught a

trade; he is trained in habits of industry; and he is then sent out into the world again with skilled fingers and strengthened body, able to earn his bread. If he refuses to work he is sent from the loafers' prison to the more severe discipline of the criminal section. I spent an afternoon in this prison examining with the greatest interest the cells and the methods of employing the men. I found a prison hospital, where a modern-trained doctor attended to the men under admirable sanitary conditions. I saw the great hall where each evening the men are brought together for an hour's lecture by the prison governor, who himself is a Christian, upon the necessity for moral reform. The administrators of the Tientsin prisons believe that if a man is to be cured of crime and cured of laziness, his brain, his soul, and his body must all be brought under discipline.

At the same time, Yuan was turning his attention to his provincial officials. It soon became known that the only hope for a man to obtain promotion under him was to have seen something of other lands. He obtained the services of many Cantonese, nimble-witted men of the south, who had lived and learned in England and America. He secured places for his favourites and adherents in the Palace at Peking and on the great Boards of State. He was and is constant in advocating constitutional government for China. All the conservative forces of the country soon came to know this man as their foe. He cleared priests out of their temples, and established schools in them. He gathered the merchants together and would lecture them on political economy. He made the lives of obese and corrupt mandarins a burden.

Time after time the reactionary forces have gathered against him. The Dowager Empress remembers that it was he who saved her when her life was threatened, and who did much towards preserving the independence of China after the Boxer trouble. But it yet remains to be seen whether Yuan can triumph over the strong and established customs he is attacking. The reforms he advocates are most of them certain to prevail, but there is yet a possibility that in the triumph of the reforms the premier reformer himself may go under. Were England playing in the Far East the part she did fifty years ago, it would be for us, by the weight of our diplomatic influence, to strengthen the arms and consolidate the position of this man who is fighting the battle of civilisation on the shores of the Yellow Sea. I, for one, cannot yet wholly abandon the hope that my own country will realise the neglected possibilities still before her.

In his personal life Yuan is quiet and, so far as his position allows, simple. Like all Chinese officials, he has several wives, the number being variously stated as from six to eleven. He is a voracious worker, and although only speaking Chinese he keeps in touch with Western thought by the aid of translators. He devotes special attention to military works, and naturally he chiefly goes to the German military texts for his authorities. The Viceroy is no open book for all men to read. His palace is the centre of a hundred intrigues, national and international. He has multitudes of enemies, but up to now the armed men at his back—men who have been taught that their primary duty is loyalty to their Viceroy—have protected him. Now in favour, now out of favour, he goes on his way.

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Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

A ROOM IN VICEROY YUAN'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, TIENTSIN.

It is difficult to forecast the future of any Chinese statesman. Time after time before to-day we have seen apparently strong officials arise, keen on new departures, and for a time carrying all before them; then they have sunk into powerlessness. But there is much in the character, the purpose, and the wise policy of the Viceroy of Chi-li which gives reason to hope that this will not be so with him. In the political disturbances which must come to China within the next few years, his voice and authority may be predominant. Either as the power behind the throne or in yet higher place, those who know him best believe that he will still do much for new China.

CHAPTER XVI

THE NEW CHINESE ARMY

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Chinese photograph.

CHINESE ARTILLERY. ARMY OF CHIH-LI, PAOTINGFU.

CHAPTER XVI

THE NEW CHINESE ARMY

TWELVE years ago the Chinese soldier was a relic of the Middle Ages. He was armed with bow and arrow, three-pronged fork, double-handled sword, ox-hide buckler, and two-man jingal. His officers had a deserved reputation for corruption and cowardice; his food was bad, his training was absurd, and his discipline slight.

To-day one finds him—and three score thousand of him in the single province of Chil-li alone—dressed in khaki in summer and blue serge in winter, clean, well-shod, and with peaked cap shielding his eyes from the sun. He carries a useful rifle, Mannlicher or Mauser, and he knows how to use it. He is well-fed, well-clothed, and well-housed, and is led by officers of his own race who have absorbed something of the methods and discipline of the German army. Quick-firing Krupp, Creusot, and Armstrong guns are in his train. Foreign-taught doctors watch over his health, and skilled vets care for his horse. China is resolutely attacking the problem of creating a force capable of defending her against outside aggression.

Ten years ago the profession of the soldier was one of the most despised in China. A typical incident will help to show this. Two ladies of high family visited a friend of mine, the wife of an English doctor

in Chi-li. It was the first time they had been in a European house, and they were all smiles, uttering constant exclamations of pleasure and surprise as they examined the novel foreign furniture. At last they came to a framed photograph of an English artillery officer, displayed prominently in the drawing-room. Who was this? they asked. The hostess proudly replied that it was a portrait of her brother. The smiles on the faces of the Chinese ladies died away. They looked suddenly grave and alarmed. As the hostess moved a little ahead, they turned anxiously to another English lady present. "Tell us," they whispered quickly, "is not Mrs. —— of a respectable family?" It was incredible to them that any decent household could permit one of its members to be a soldier!

The ladies were merely reflecting the common national sentiment. A soldier was little better than a pariah. To-day that feeling is rapidly passing away. There have been cases recently of well-to-do men voluntarily enlisting in the Army as private soldiers as an example of patriotism to their fellows. The sons of viceroys serve as officers. Once it was almost impossible to obtain men of good family as cadets. Now an announcement in the provinces of Chi-li that an examination for military cadetship will be held brings scores of applicants of good social standing for each vacancy.

The new Chinese army owes its creation largely to one man, Viceroy Yuan. Up to now it has been a misnomer to speak of a Chinese army as though it were one body. There have been nineteen armies; one for each of the eighteen provinces, and one for Manchuria. Each of these armies has been under

the control of the viceroy or governor of the province, who has been practically solely responsible for its equipment, discipline, and drill. The Chinese authorities fully realise that efficiency of national defence can only be secured by the centralisation of control of the national forces as one imperial department. There are many difficulties in the way of this, but great efforts are being made to bring it to pass. The new Army Organisation Office at Peking is aiming at creating one army corps in each of the eighteen provinces. The various viceroys were supposed to be building these corps during 1906. In a few cases they made sincere efforts to do so. In most of the provinces, however, the military forces are still chaotic, and the methods of drill and arming primitive. The one efficient army is that of Viceroy Yuan in Chi-li. This consists of six divisions, with a seventh division partially formed. The Chinese official estimate of the number of this army is about seventy thousand. Some foreign military experts, who have exceptional opportunity for judging, have placed the actual number of soldiers in Chi-li as low as fifty thousand. I myself believe that the actual number is about sixty thousand.

The Chinese, like many other Orientals, are apt to magnify their own figures. This was strikingly shown in the much-discussed military manœuvres in the autumn of 1905. It was announced then that between forty and fifty thousand troops took part in the manœuvres. Two foreign experts, friends of my own, made careful calculations of the numbers of the troops. Their estimates, arrived at independently, almost tallied. There were actually present 20,000 infantry, 1,200 cavalry, 1,100 engineers, 1,300 artillery,

with somewhere between 108 and 120 guns. This made an actual total of 23,600.

There are to be two divisions in each of the provincial army corps, as a beginning. Each division is to be composed of two brigades of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, one regiment of artillery, one section of engineers, and one transport section. A division will thus work out as follows:

Officers, warrant officers, and writers . .	748
2 brigades of infantry—	
4 regiments, or 12 battalions, each 526 men, with certain additional men . . .	6,400
1 regiment of cavalry—	
3 ying or squadrons, each 363 men . .	1,089
1 regiment of artillery—	
3 ying or line batteries, each 568 . . .	1,704
54 guns	
1 ying engineers	526
1 ying transport	526
Total	10,993

Li Hung Chang attempted, with very imperfect success, to create a body of foreign-drilled troops. The real beginning of the present army in Northern China was made in the spring of 1894, just before the close of the Chino-Japanese War, by Hu Yun-mei, since Director-General of Railways in Northern China. It was then called the Ping-Wo-Wo-Chung, its head quarters were at Hichang, and it consisted of five thousand men—infantry, artillery, cavalry, and some pioneers. It was placed under the instruction of Mr. Schaller, who for many years had been at Shan-hai-kwan with General Yeh, and Mr. Munthe (now Colonel and Aide-de-camp to Viceroy Yuan), a Norwegian officer, who was in the Customs service under Sir Robert Hart,

and volunteered to help the Chinese in the war against Japan, and was detached for military duty.

In October, the same year, the head quarters were moved to a place only twenty-five miles from Tientsin, and Viceroy Yuan, then a Taotai fresh from diplomatic service in Korea, was made Director-General. Yuan proved to be a born soldier, and he threw himself into the work of creating a real efficient army. As time went on the men became more and more picked. They were properly fed, clothed, armed, and drilled. The officers for the first few years were mostly old students from the existing military schools at Tientsin, Shan-hai-kwan and Wei-hai-wei. In 1900 the troops were renamed the Hain-chien-nu-chien, or New Imperial Army. Several German officers were engaged, and when Yuan was made Governor of Shantung he took his army with him. General Yuan soon demonstrated that he had a wonderful eye and aptitude for military matters. Three times a month he held grand parades of all arms, inspecting everything himself. The men were examined as to what they had learnt since the last parade, and no slackness was overlooked. "The Lord have mercy on the commanding officer whose soldiers were not up to the mark!" said one of the old officers to me, in talking over that time. "The Viceroy would have none."

There were three night field-services every month, and one great field-day for the whole army. Each commanding officer was expected to institute various field-days as well for his own individual units. The men were worked to a degree that might have caused even a German recruit to revolt. The force had been gradually increased to eight thousand men, and the

drill and discipline were, at that time, probably higher than they have been before or since in a Chinese force. The whole system of military training was founded on the German Army regulations, and it is these regulations which still form the basis of the new Chinese force.

In 1900, the little army had an opportunity of proving its worth during the time of the Boxer rising. The Boxers were held well in hand in Shantung, and it is said that Yuan's men killed more of them than did the whole of the allied forces together. When Yuan was promoted to the viceroyalty of Chi-li, he again took his army with him, and the force has since been increased to its present total. During the first few years the discipline in Yuan's command was exceedingly severe. There was then only one punishment, instant decapitation, and this was applied for apparently the most trivial offences. Yuan realised that he had to put military discipline into men wholly unaccustomed to it. Many stories are told of his relentless methods. Some of these stories are possibly apocryphal, others I know to be true. A European was appointed military instructor to one branch of the army. Yuan had a talk with him before he began his work. "I want you," said Yuan, "to watch for the first opportunity you find of coming down on an officer for some offence, and we will have his head off. These officers need stiffening."

At another time a high European official was inspecting the army with Yuan. A soldier failed to salute the foreigner, and Yuan noticed the omission. He sent an aide-de-camp to summon the unhappy private's officer before him. "Have that man's head

Diamond Lighting

Chinese photograph.

CHINESE CAVALRY. ARMY OF CHIH-LI, PAOTINGFU.

off at once ! " was his brief instruction. The Englishman, horrified, protested. " It's absurd," he cried, " to cut a man's head off because he forgot to salute me." Yuan was adamant. " I know my own business," he said in effect. " I know that I can only teach these men the lesson that they have to learn in one way, and I am going to do it." The man's head came off ! I noticed when, some time afterwards, I was visiting the Chi-li army that one never passed a soldier in the street, however far away from barracks or from his officers, but that he came promptly to attention and the salute. The lesson had evidently gone home.

In addition to the death penalty, the military authorities now freely employ the bamboo as a means of discipline. This, as used in the army, is a very formidable weapon. The monotonous, light stroke of the stick on the bare flesh of the prisoner seems at first a trivial infliction. But as blow follows blow, always on the same spot, there comes first a great wheal, then torn skin, and then a raw pulp of quivering flesh and frayed muscle. The soldier who receives a hundred strokes with the bamboo knows his fill of torture.

My first introduction to the army of Chi-li was at daybreak one morning, late in August, 1906, when I rode out to the big plain near the barracks of Paotingfu, the Aldershot of China. I had come as the guest of the Chinese Foreign Office, and the Viceroy himself had sent orders that I was to be shown everything I desired to see. The local authorities treated me with the greatest courtesy during my visit. I was housed in the old palace of Li Hung Chang, and the whole of the staff, so far as I could judge, did their utmost to tell me all

I wanted to know. It did not take very long for me to acquire a very real respect for these Chinese Staff Officers. Their frankness, their kindliness, and their apparent sincerity left the best of impressions. Cynical Europeans will, of course, think to themselves that the whole of this frankness and apparent openness was a subtle disguise to deceive an innocent visitor. Perhaps so, yet this was not the first time by any means that I had had to deal with Mongolian officials.

Early as it was on the August day at Paotingfu, thousands of men were already at drill. Away to my left, squads of recruits were acquiring the goose-step. One noticed that an infantry regiment, standing to attention in full marching order, was amply equipped with large trenching tools, every soldier carrying spade or pick. The clothing of the men, although somewhat looser than our military tailors would approve, was in good condition. I examined many of the rifles, bayonets, and guns, but I did not find one dirty.

An infantry regiment first marched out and drilled. I have seen some of the crack corps of Europe on the parade ground, but I have never seen better drill than by these men. The long lines were mathematically straight. There was no sagging and no confusion, and the companies marched like one great iron machine. As they swung past with their flat-footed German step, there was an erectness, a cohesion, and an evident discipline which proclaimed the making of real soldiers. Changing front and changing formation were done in every possible way, and with incredible rapidity and exactness.

The infantry marched on and went from sight behind a slight ridge. Suddenly they reappeared. They

poured over the mound and spread themselves out. It was evident that they were about to attack a house and a wood a thousand yards ahead. The long line of skirmishers automatically took the right distances man from man, and the front line had scarcely emerged from cover before it was pouring volley after volley into the enemy. Now, by short, sharp rushes, the men had covered half the distance, and were kneeling and firing ahead. Their supports and reserves had already come out from the shelter of the ridge.

Another rush and still another followed, and the front skirmishers were flat on their stomachs, close to the supposed foe. Then, as though by magic, supports and reserves were merged into the centre of the line, a great cheer burst from the ranks—a harsh "Haw!" that seemed to tear the air—and the soldiers leaped to their feet, split into two parts, and rushed the house and wood at the point of the bayonet.

The infantry had not yet finished. As I approached them, in company with the general, they reformed ranks, with the briefest pause, and swept back past us at the double.

A regiment of cavalry, mounted on little chestnut Chinese ponies, displayed the same qualities of discipline and training as the footmen. They first did a clean bit of mounted infantry work, advancing on foot in open order upon a position. Then they went through an old-time cavalry charge. They divided into two parts, each riding to the opposite end of the plain. Then they turned, and with officers to the front and swords drawn they came straight at one another. Faster and faster they rode, nearer and nearer they drew, until the roar of the beating hoofs filled the air, and a great clash

seemed inevitable. A mighty shout burst from either half. At the last possible moment each side made a slight curve, and the excited ponies tore by each other in safety. When the men rejoined the forces, they practised silent drill, making the ponies gallop rapidly but so quietly that not the beat of a hoof could be heard.

It was easy to satisfy oneself here that the Chinaman of the north is a born horseman. When he improves his mount, he will be still more efficient. The Chinese pony, while amazingly hardy and very fast, is too light for shock tactics, and not intelligent enough for the best cavalry work. The authorities recognise this, and they are making experiments on a large scale at the present time, crossing the native pony with larger breeds. Up to the present, the most hopeful experiments have been with Australian horses.

The main criticisms that I had to make were insufficient practice with ammunition, a tendency to crowd the troops, and a weakness in reconnoitring work. The Krupp guns, for instance, were clean, and handled well, but they are all too seldom used with actual charges. The practice allowed for infantry is only one hundred and seventy rounds per man, the question of cost being, no doubt, largely responsible for this. Each division has to be maintained for about one and a half million taels, or £230,000, a year. This is not much for a force of twelve thousand men. But to economise in ammunition is a veritable spoiling of the ship for a ha'porth of tar.

I was shown the gymnastic training of the troops. This is the pride of the Chinese military administrators, and is certainly remarkable. It is done in the open air.

A large squad of men went through their drill for me, and I was assured that they were only practising the regular routine which every soldier in the ranks must complete. First there was some pretty vaulting and horizontal-bar work. Jumping and climbing followed. Then came leaping over trenches, about thirteen feet wide. At pole jumping, they cleared tapes nine feet high. They climbed a-top of wooden uprights, some men scaling up ropes and others running up perpendicular poles, eighteen to twenty feet high, in the nimblest fashion. Then they raised themselves on their hands, with feet high in the air, and jumped to the ground. One fellow climbed to the top of a giant's stride, that must have been quite thirty feet high, raised his feet aloft and came down with a jump.

Finally, there was a great obstacle race. The men, in threes and fours, first leaped over a line of low bushes. They then ran along the thin edge of planking, placed over a ditch, and leaped over a thirteen foot trench on the other side. A wooden wall, eight feet high, with castellated top, had next to be scaled, and when it was vaulted a stone wall of the same height awaited them. Then came a trench, about eight feet deep, into which they had to plunge, climbing up the other side. Finally, they mounted a slight earthen fortification. The time in which many of the men did the whole thing was from thirty-five to forty seconds.

These gymnastics are, I believe, foolishly severe. Work involving such strain must cause internal trouble among a proportion of the men. Constant jumping from great heights has a tendency to cause gatherings on the balls of the feet and to strain certain tendons of the leg. The staff officers defended the exercises

warmly, when I told them what I thought, declaring that by gradual practice they made the men so hardy that no evil results followed. Independent inquiries made by me afterwards satisfied me that my strictures were justified. With longer experience, the authorities will modify some of their exercises. It speaks volumes, however, for the physique of the men that results such as I have given can be obtained.

In the barracks themselves three things impressed me—the universal cleanliness, the flowers, and the schools. The barrack-rooms were not large, and the privates are not even supplied with separate beds, but sleep together on long wooden benches. But there was everywhere the most perfect cleanliness. The men are compelled to take baths two or three times a week. The rooms were spotless. At every possible place in the barracks flowers were planted, many of them the familiar flowers of our own English gardens. The way they were tended showed that the Chinaman does not allow militarism to crush out his æsthetic instincts.

The schoolmaster is abroad at Paotingfu. Every soldier in Yuan's army goes to school. In the class-rooms for non-commissioned officers, I examined with considerable astonishment the exercise-books. The geometrical plans, the neat drawings of entrenchments, the diagrams for land-surveying, and the advanced mathematical work were proof enough that the brain as well as the body of Yuan's soldiers is receiving full attention.

There is also at Paotingfu a large Military Academy, and a Staff College for officers. The Military Academy will give cadets a seven years' course of training. After two or three years of academy work the cadets

are drafted in the army, where they serve for a time as private soldiers, before returning to complete their studies. In the academy itself a high standard of work, both physical and mental, is maintained. Owing to the great demand for officers, however, a large number of students leave Paotingfu before they can complete their full course of studies.

The army of Chi-li is the only positively efficient fighting force in China. Viceroy Chang Chih Tung has a smaller modern-trained force, but the accounts that have come to me from outside observers lead me to doubt if he could put two fully trained divisions in the field. The army of Chi-li, when fully formed with ten divisions and reserves, will consist of about a hundred thousand fighting men in barrack, and a quarter of a million ready to be called up. The Viceroy is now devoting special attention to the creation of a reserve. When General Fukushima of the Japanese staff visited Northern China, he summed up his criticism in a picturesque sentence: "You have a beautiful lake, now you want an ever-flowing river." His meaning of course was that an army which is not periodically renewed by systematic recruiting, and has not abundant reserves to fall back upon, is of no use. Yuan realises this.

Is the new Chinese army likely to be in the immediate future a menace to other nations? Theorists, without knowledge of things as they are, have argued that if an efficient fighting force of sixty thousand men can be brought into being in a short time in one corner of China, it only needs a general application of the same system all over the country to create an army of ten or fifteen millions. Japanese jingoes have

painted the future of such an army, led by Japanese officers, marching in triumph over Europe, and bringing the "yellow blessing" to our benighted shores. European alarmists, overawed by the same vision, have expressed similar fears.

If raw human material were all that is necessary for this, it might be done. But there are other factors. The Chinaman differs from the Japanese in that he is naturally a lover of peace, and not a fighter. In Japan we find a nation of born warriors, sensitive, proud, keen to detect offence, even where none is meant, and fearless in resenting it. The traditions of many generations have fostered this martial spirit. The Chinese, on the contrary, are essentially traders. Despite outbreaks like the Boxer rising, and outrages by scum of the nation emigrated to South Africa, they are a law-abiding and quiet race. Even now they are only learning the art of war because they want to be prepared to defend their own land. Their philosophy and religion are opposed to campaigns of conquest. It is impossible for any one who really knows them to contemplate them, for a long time to come, save under foreign direction, entering into an aggressive war with other nations. When they fight, it will be with the weapons of commerce, the boycott and the trust.

Then it must be remembered that, although the Chinese army has made incredible advances, it is not, and is not likely to be for many years, capable of resisting serious external attack. Even the army of Chi-li would crumble at once before Japan, the most likely quarter from which attack will come. Certain great weaknesses in the Chinese military organisation

Photograph by F. A McKenzie.

GROUP OF STAFF OFFICERS AT PAOTINGFU, CHINA.

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have not yet been removed. The fact that the army of each province is for all practical purposes a separate body, tells against efficiency. Thus the army of Viceroy Yuan has been up to now not so much a branch of the Chinese army as Yuan's army. His soldiers have been taught loyalty—but loyalty to Yuan. The Viceroy's photograph has hung on the walls of every barrack-room. His name has been on every man's lips, and his smile or his frown have meant success or disgrace. He and not the veiled and hidden potentate in the Forbidden City, has represented real power to the soldiers under him. This already is being changed. The Board of War in Peking is steadily fighting for greater power, and the Chinese soldiers recognise that their only hope of national territorial integrity is in centralisation of military control. The whole tendency of Chinese government is against the efficiency of such central control. Inspectors from Peking can be bribed and blinded, as they are when they go to some of the provincial forces to-day. Spoilsmen can share the pay of thousands of soldiers who exist only upon paper, as is still done. The power of each viceroy is so great that he must exercise preponderant weight and authority over the soldiers in his province.

The army of Chi-li represents twelve years of strenuous work by a great genius. But despite its splendid drill, its admirable discipline, and the general honesty with which it is administered, it has some serious faults. Each division is differently armed from the others. There are many kinds of field guns. One division has thirty-five 7·5 Schneider-Canet guns —weapons so heavy that a team of twelve of the

heaviest American horses would be insufficient to drag one of them. There are at least six varieties of Krupps in the army, including the models of 1905, 1904, 1888, and 1872. There are also 7·5 Japanese guns, Armstrongs, and Maxims.

When we come to small arms, we find confusion still worse confounded. There are 1888-model Mausers, 1872-model Mausers, Mannlichers, a few Lee-Metfords, and even a few Lee straight-pulls, besides other makes. Some of these have again to be subdivided. Thus the 1888-pattern Mauser is made at various arsenals. It is said that the variations in different makes are such that the ammunition made in one yard will not fit the weapons made in other arsenals, although nominally the same model.

The staff of the army are awake to the great disadvantages entailed by this lack of uniformity, and if they had money it would be easy to remedy it. But reforms are costly, and funds are not too plentiful. The Chinese people have a rooted objection to increased taxation, and have a way of showing their dislike which is far from pleasant to the powers that be. Viceroys are not allowed to add to their direct taxes—save licences—without special permission from Peking. In consequence, Viceroy Yuan is hampered by lack of money, and is likely to be so for some time to come. He could possibly raise all he needs by foreign loans ; but in the present temper of the Chinese people, any attempt to do so might cause a storm.

The old type of Chinese officer was very often fat, lazy, and venal, and his courage was frequently, with much justice, called in question. He generally knew nothing of military affairs, having possibly been, not

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

CHINESE ARTILLERY. ARMY OF CHIH-LI, PAOTINGFU.

many months before, a minor official within a yamen, a commander of a ship, or a hanger-on to the apron-strings of the ladies of the court. When the Army Board in Peking drew up its regulations for the reformed forces, it considered it necessary to lay down in print the instruction that generals must not steal. Yuan has done much to remedy this state of affairs in his own army. I did not find one fat officer in his ranks. The order has gone forth that if an officer puts on too much flesh, he must go. I saw no opium-smoking, and, to touch on a more delicate matter, I saw much which led me to believe that Yuan has accomplished the greatest miracle of all—he has largely put down corruption among those under him. But even in Yuan's army the political officer can still be found. There are nominal generals so busy with political work that they must leave all duty to subordinates. Leading officers vary their military careers by civil administration. In other provinces this is still more so. Thus the general at Nanking is a civil mandarin. In the days of the American Civil War it was possible for a commander to be taken from farmhouse or country manor, and successfully to learn his duty in the field. Soldiering, however, has become so technical to-day that, if real efficiency be wanted, the trained expert must rule. The amateur soldier, like the amateur theologian or the amateur journalist, has seen his day.

There is a group of very able and well-trained staff officers at Paotingfu. I had many opportunities of coming in close touch with them. Their keenness, the alertness of their minds, and their willingness to consider every new fact were quite un-Oriental. The

evening before I left the army, the staff entertained me at a banquet. I had already become very friendly with several of them, and our talk was free and frank. Their one great topic of conversation all the time, apart from the necessary polite questions, was military matters. They knew that I had seen actual war, if only as an observer, and they were evidently determined to obtain from me all possible information. One officer was keen on entrenchments. What kind of trenches had I found most effectual in actual warfare? Why? Where had I seen them used? and so on. Another was eager to start a discussion on the use of common shell in covering an attack. A third was absorbed in the question of improving the size and the intelligence of the Chinese pony by judicious crossing. Their interrogations were neither general nor vague, but went right to the root of things. In short, these men were alive to their profession.

There could have been no greater contrast than between this and the spirit of the old Chinese officer. A recent instance will illustrate this. A friend of mine was in the district in Manchuria where a body of bandits was creating trouble. Troops were hurried out to capture them. The troops moved very leisurely, marched around three sides of the robbers, and then they allowed them to escape in the rear.

My friend protested to the commanding officer. "You could easily have captured every man," he said. "You might have stormed the house they were holding, and they could have done very little against you."

The officer leisurely knocked off the ash from his cigarette. "Of course we could have captured them,"

he said. "But if we had stormed their position, several of our men would have been shot and maimed for life. They would have to leave the army, and go back to their villages to starve. They would receive no compensation from the Government. It was not worth while."

There is one question constantly asked. How far is the Chinese army under Japanese control? It is only necessary here to consider two forces, those of Viceroy Chang and of Yuan. Chang is undoubtedly a pronounced pro-Japanese, and both his soldiers and his arsenal are under Japanese direction. Not long since he made very large purchases from Japan of cast-off weapons. Some of these old guns have been brought up-to-date by having the year of their manufacture carefully erased, and 1906 put in its place. There are also a limited number of Japanese assistants in Yuan's army, but they are employed to plan and advise, and have little actual control. One Japanese colonel occupies an important place on Yuan's personal staff. Japanese drew up the scheme of the entire autumn manœuvres of the united Chinese armies, but the execution of their plans was left to Chinese. I found the Chinese military authorities exceedingly sensitive on this question of Japanese direction. They took every opportunity of denying stories of Japanese influence. The rulers of Northern China have determined, so far as they can, to use the Japanese and then to put them on one side, as the Japanese themselves did with European instructors. The Japanese, however, are very carefully establishing themselves wherever possible. Strong diplomatic pressure is at work to keep Japanese officers in the Chinese service

even when the Chinese would rather have them go. My own opinion is that rather too much has been made of the Japanese control of Yuan's force. I certainly could not imagine a more dangerous or more undesirable thing from the European point of view than that the Chinese army should completely fall under Japanese dominance and direction.

Two years ago the Japanese had the opportunity to secure predominance in the Chinese armies. But they played their cards badly. They showed themselves somewhat grasping, and too eager for their own gain. Yuan bought several millions' worth of arms and ammunition from them. When I was in Tientsin, one batch of eight hundred thousand cartridges was being returned to Japan, as it was said that only about one cartridge in three would fire. The Chinese army of to-morrow will be Chinese led, although for some years there will be abundant room for special foreign military instructors.

The Chinese soldiers are, and will be, conscripts. The magistrate of each district is told that he must supply a certain number of men, and the method of finding them is left to him. The soldiers are supposed to serve for three years with the colours, three years with the first reserve, and four years with the second reserve—or ten years in all. The soldiers are paid a nominal four or four and a half taels a month (12*s.* to 14*s.*)—very good pay for China. Recently various deductions have been made which reduce the actual money handed over to about two taels.

There has been much talk of creating a new Chinese navy. The present idea of the Chinese authorities

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

CHINESE MILITARY ATHLETICS. ARMY OF CHIH-LI, PAOTINGFU.

is not to proceed with a large scheme of naval reconstruction immediately. A few cruisers are being built in Japanese yards, but the leading spirits in Peking are in favour of concentrating expenditure on military efficiency for the time. What China mainly wants to-day from the naval point of view, is a group of fast, small cruisers that can be used for the suppression of coast piracy.

CHAPTER XVII

THE OLD ORDER PASSETH

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PEKING has transformed itself. Not many years ago, the Chinese capital was known as the most uncomfortable of all great cities. The land journey up from the Taku forts was long and trying ; Peking hotels had world-wide reputation for their unpleasant features ; the people were often openly offensive to strangers ; and the streets were so bad that men would sometimes sink bodily in mud holes in the middle of the main avenues, during wet weather.

The road to the new Peking is now easy. Broad-gauge trains, with palace cars, luxurious easy-chairs, and sumptuous dining accommodation, await the passenger. Swift rickshaws have taken the place of the slow and springless Peking carts. There is at least one first-class hotel near the railway terminus. The main thoroughfares of the city are well paved, straight, broad, and easily traversed ; the old plague of beggars has abated ; and the people are civil and obliging. Despite the frequent sand-storms and the summer heat, the climate of the capital is, on the whole, bracing and delightful.

In Peking, modern history dates from the Boxer uprising. Old residents declare that Peking has been spoiled by recent changes. The railway has brought globe-trotters ; the old class of Legation

retainers has largely disappeared ; the shops have never recovered from the looting ; and the foreign quarter has become offensively modern. There remains plenty, however, to keep the stranger content. The streets are a panorama of national life. Now a train of camels, laden with goods from the Mongolian uplands, moves in stately fashion down the roadway ; then a wedding procession, gay with bannermen and music, comes into sight. In one quarter you see the wives of Manchus, moving freely and without restraint, as becomes the women of the conquering race ; in another part you find few but men on the streets, for their stricter Chinese custom prevails. The great city walls of incredible thickness, the many port-holes over the main gate, each with an eye painted on its shutter telling of watchfulness, the moats, and the high towers around bespeak a nation still on the defensive.

Peking is divided into four parts—the Tartar city, the Chinese city, the Imperial City, being the collection of imperial palaces and dwellings, of which the Forbidden City is part, and the Legation quarter. The Tartar city is the city of gardens, all the well-to-do officials there having extensive grounds surrounding their homes usually full of flowers and trees. In the Chinese business quarter, the English shopkeeper could obtain some new ideas for displaying his wares. The roads here are packed with dense humanity, making it often difficult to move. Each shop front is an attempt to rival the glories of the others. Elaborate wood-carving, gilded poles, black and gold and red, twenty feet high and stuck in the roadway in front of the shops, attract the passer-by. But even here new fashions are coming in. One establishment

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Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

CORNER OF EXTERIOR WALL, BRITISH LEGATION, PEKING, WHERE THE BRUNT OF THE BOXER ATTACK WAS MET IN 1900.

CAMBRIDGE

that draws never-failing crowds has plate-glass windows and brilliant lights after the manner of Edgware Road, and makes a brave show of imitation diamonds. Apparently it does a great trade.

The Boxer uprising has left its scars everywhere, as bad illness graves the face of man. On the outer wall one sees whole strips of the parapets taken away. The stones were commandeered by the soldiers of one of the Powers during the occupation, to build their Legation. The famous astronomical instruments on the wall disappeared when the foreign troops came, and several of them now add to the exuberant ornamentation of Berlin. Some, however, that were taken by the French have since been restored by the French Government, and are now in place again. The splendid white marble palaces around the Altar of Heaven, where the Emperor goes to worship, are to-day stripped, for white soldiers lived in them, and looted them thoroughly. Even the famous Llama Temple, where Sir Henry Norman penetrated some years ago at the risk of his life, is now open. The Japanese soldiers in 1900 taught the Llamas civility by shooting some of the most troublesome. When I went through it the only danger was not to my life, but to my pocket, for the monks are shameless beggars.

The Legation quarter is transformed. After the great siege the Powers determined not to be caught napping again. A large part of the indemnity money obtained from China has been spent on erecting elaborate Legations and barracks for troops. Germany has a real fortress, with moated sides and sloping walls and abundant artillery; Italy rivals France; and countries like Holland have built palaces.

America can boast the ugliest and most unsuitable Legation, and England the most artistic. England is content, and wisely, with the beautiful old Chinese palace which so long served us. Even some of the missionaries have caught the fever of display. The great Catholic cathedral, erected as reparation by the Chinese, is a grief to every loyal Manchu. One American missionary society has built for itself a hospital and homes which rival the Legations.

The Marconi mast, showing above the Italian Legation, the many soldiers of many nations in the streets, and the heavily guarded gateways of the ministerial quarters, all tell their tale of uncertain outlook. The West is in Peking by sufferance, and knows it. A very little, a short spell of famine, the rise of a real leader for the anti-Manchu party, the uncertainty following the death of the Dowager Empress, or something as yet unsuspected, may again bring the anti-foreign movement. The schools that one sees in the main streets, the movements of the newsmen, the publication of the reform journals, and even the rise of European trained officials into favour, could do little if such an outburst came.

The sights of the Forbidden City, the home of the Dowager Empress and the Emperor, may well make one pause. The fine wall facing the British Legation —yesterday the centre of the hottest fighting—the beautiful pagodas on the rising mounds, and the yellow roof of the imperial buildings make a picture of impressive beauty. Behind those walls rests the most tragic figure in modern history, Kwang-sü, Emperor of China, the man who tried to hustle the East and failed. Between those walls, too, is being fought out

to-day the battle between reactionary and progressive officials. Here the viceroys and the governors, the members of the Grand Secretariat, the Privy Council of China, the members of the Boards, the bureaucratic chiefs, and the Censors, the ears and the eyes of the Dowager Empress, debate and intrigue. I should feel hopeless indeed if I believed that the progress of reform in China depended upon the bureaucrats of the Forbidden City. The flood of the new movement is carrying them on, but in many cases it is carrying them on against their will. The vast hosts of place-hunters and sinecurists are at bay ; the thousands of officials whose bread is threatened are naturally up in arms ; the palace eunuchs, a power behind the throne by no means to be despised, know that progress must involve the destruction of their caste. The men like Viceroy Yuan, who are leading reform, meet their fiercest resistance in the Palace of the Dowager Empress, although not from the Empress herself.

Contradictory edicts, bearing the imperial seal, mark the triumph now of this faction, now of that. From the day when the Dowager Empress re-entered Peking, and showed herself to Europeans at the great gate of the Tartar City, she has revealed a readiness to face the facts of the new era. But it cannot be surprising if at times her purpose wavers. To-day she is moved by a pitiful story of the dangers hovering over the Czar, and her advisers urge on her to mark from the example of Russia what comes of yielding to popular clamour ; to-morrow translated cuttings from some subsidised newspapers of baser sort are shown to her, and she is urged to note and beware of the real opinion of the white people ; now a petition from a great scholar,

full of warning and of dimly hinted threats of national peril, casts a shadow over the throne ; and now idealists come forward with reforms that would produce revolution in a week. One councillor urges that a great national fund shall be raised, and the foreigners paid back all that has been borrowed from them ; another pleads that picked youths shall be sent abroad by the thousand for three years ; a third maintains that no nation without representative government is great, and demands the immediate calling together of a Chinese Parliament. There is an endless stream of talk. Something must be done, if China is to save her national integrity. What shall that thing be?

You notice that two men, long familiar attendants, have disappeared. Where are they? They were accused yesterday of giving information to the Japanese, and their heads are now off. To-day there is strife in all the Council Chambers. It is nothing very much. Progressives and reactionaries have had a tussle over the appointment of a young American trained official to a post in the Board of Communications, and the reactionaries have won. The underlings of the bureaucratic world thrill with the triumph of their masters. They already see visions of Peking restored to its old glory again, with railways destroyed, Legation buildings levelled, and foreigners banished.

But the world still moves. Each stage of the fight finds the reformers further advanced. The reactionaries get the ear of the Dowager Empress and secure the restoration of Confucian studies. But they do not dare to ask that foreign learning shall be put on one side altogether, so that even with reactionary gain there is great advance. And reform does not depend

on these men. They can help it very much or they can hinder it somewhat; but the real force for progress in China comes from reviving nationality. The great merchant groups of the Kwang-tung, the foreign-trained officials, the people who remember the aftermath of the Boxer trouble are sweeping the nation onwards. Reaction in the Forbidden City may check them for a time, but it can no more permanently prevent progress than could Canute at his word send back the rising sea.

It is almost certain that in the early future there will be considerable changes in the Government organisation. The present system of the Grand Council is likely to be merged into a Cabinet, with a more or less responsible Premier. Under the Cabinet there will be a series of departments of State, and every effort will be made to diminish the present power of the viceroys and governors, and to increase that of the central administration. Thus the various Viceregal armies are gradually being merged into one national force. Taxation is to become more and more a national than a provincial matter, and the viceroys are to be more under the control of Peking. There will be very strong resistance to this. It seems improbable that there will be any immediate attempt to establish representative government, despite the strong advocacy of many influential men.

The real centralisation of Chinese Government has never up to now been possible, owing to the great difficulties of travel. Every viceroy, save those near Peking, occupied the same happy position that our Eastern representatives had in the days before the telegraph. They were so far away, and it took so

long to reach them, that the Government had to leave them to their own devices. To-day the railway and the telegraph are changing that. Before many years every viceroy will have the orders of the Government on his desk within an hour of their signature in Peking, and every viceroy will know that the central army can come down on him within a few days, however far he is, if he dares disobey.

The Forbidden City has one cloud ever over-shadowing it. The Manchu rulers are always threatened rebellion. The great revolutionary societies, aiming to put a Chinaman on the throne, are unceasingly active. Time after time it has seemed as though the moment was ripe for them ; time after time they have nearly completed their plans. Those who know least about the secret revolutionary movement in China are willing to say most. Its agents are everywhere ; its paper armies and its nominal generals make a brave array ; there are money, brains, and energy behind it, and at least one Great Power is coquetting with its leaders.

What is to come within the next year in Peking? I for one would be loath to say what may come within three months. It is as though men were standing in a region of earthquakes when the deflecting needle portends trouble. All may be well, and nothing but a few minor vibrations may follow, but equally the real crash may be almost upon us, and the next hour may see the fairest structures a mass of ruins. These things lie in the laps of the gods.

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

MARCONI MAST INSIDE THE ITALIAN LEGATION GROUNDS, PEKING.

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

GATE OF A FOREIGN LEGATION AT PEKING, 1906.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NEW WOMAN

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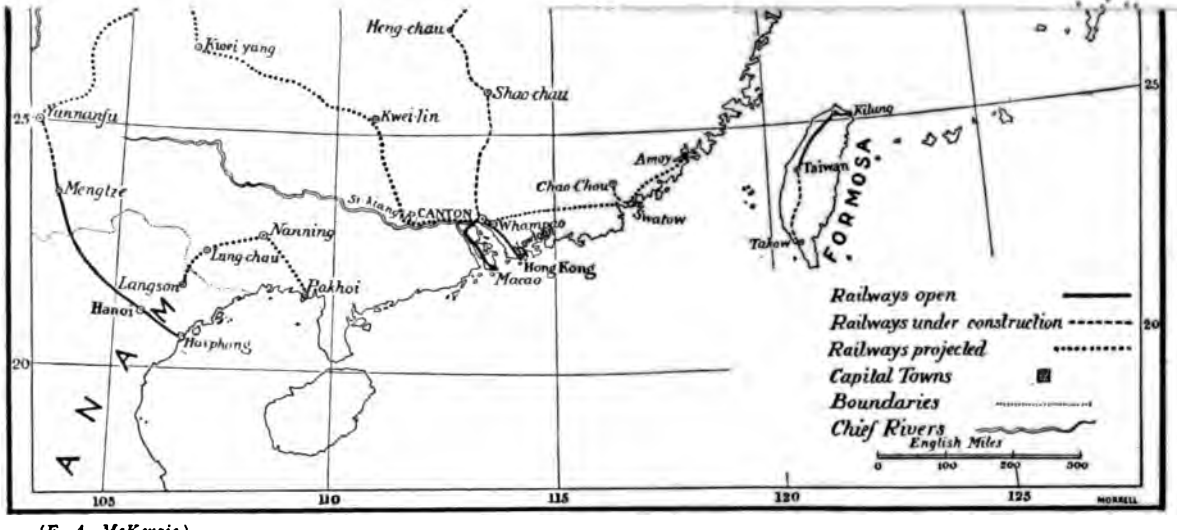


(*F. A. McKenzie.*)

RAILWAY MAP OF CHINA, 1907.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NEW WOMAN

ONE of the most convincing signs of the reality of the Western movement now passing over the Far East is the extent to which it is affecting the home life and the status of women.

I was waiting on a recent summer afternoon in a bookseller's shop in Tokyo, when a typical Japanese girl of the old style entered. She was dainty, fresh-looking, graceful, and altogether charming, and was dressed in orthodox native style, with a simple kimono of crêpe, an ornamental obi around her waist, and white tabis (cloth shoes) on her otherwise bare feet. She had no hat, no corsets, no stockings, and no leather boots.

She went up to the shopman and, to my surprise, timidly demanded a copy of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, an American domestic and fashion monthly. When she had gone, I turned to the bookseller.

"Why does she buy such a paper?" I asked. "She does not even wear foreign clothes."

"Many Japanese ladies buy foreign fashion magazines," the bookseller replied. "They cannot afford to have European clothes, but they want to have them, and they want, at any rate, to know all about them."

That dainty little woman was one of the multitude

in her own land who are feeling the impulse from the West to broader life. The existence of the Japanese woman living in Japanese style is not a happy one. The man still does his best to keep her in the background. It is inculcated into her from childhood that she is the inferior of man, and that her primary virtues are obedience and family loyalty. The Government will not permit women even to attend political meetings, lest politics should injure their domestic graces. When an Anglo-Japanese society held a dinner in Tokyo last year, the Japanese—leading men in the community—were especially requested to bring their wives. Most of them did not do so. One still sees, in the foremost hotel in Tokyo, Japanese daughters and wives standing around their seated fathers and brothers in the lounge after dinner. What is woman that she should sit uninvited in the presence of man?

Marriage in Japan is a matter not of love, but of business. The Japanese idea of morality is radically different from our own. It is still legitimate to sell your daughter to a life of shame for your own profit. A wife is a convenience, not a comrade and a helper. One of the most tragic features of Japanese life to-day is the manner in which young girls of the better classes, after being given a liberal education, and after absorbing the ideals of the West, are married to men steeped in ancient customs. They submit, obey, and often enough break their hearts in their obedience. In the poorer classes one sees at every turn illustrations of the weakness of family bonds. A lady of my acquaintance, living in Kobe, had a Japanese as her "Number one boy," *i.e.* chief servant,

and the man's wife as her personal maid. The wife did not give satisfaction, and when leaving Kobe on a visit abroad my friend told the husband so. Before returning home again she received a letter from the boy. He was sorry, he wrote, that his former wife had not pleased his mistress, so he had divorced her and married another, who he was sure would be in every way suitable.

The condition of things among the Japanese peasantry abroad was described by Mr. Carroll D. Wright, the United States Commissioner of Labour, when examining life in Hawaii. "So far as private morals are concerned," he wrote, "the Japanese of the labouring class immigrating into Hawaii are practically in a state of nature—the ideals and conventionalities of the West simply do not exist among them. Marriage is a business contract, and many women arrive in Honolulu to meet husbands whom they have never seen. They have been practically purchased by friends or agents of the latter in the home country, and, feeling free to observe a different custom in a new land, promptly desert the men if they do not meet with their approval. Much looseness in the sex relations results."

Already one finds in Japan a great change coming over an appreciable section of the people in the cities. The Japanese woman is rapidly waking up. Some of the more educated and enlightened are adopting Western home life. You can now in the first-class railway carriages come across Japanese husbands caring for their wives and children in public as carefully as any European husband could do. The educational schemes that have been carried on among

better-class Japanese women for some years are now yielding splendid results. Men who have absorbed Western knowledge or who wish to imitate the West are realising that they must begin at home, and the stronger of the women themselves are quietly insisting on change. The old ideal of a wife, submissive, retiring, never seen and never heard outside her kitchen and her nursery, save when called into the presence of her lord, is becoming dim. In this new era, women of the poorer classes have to work; women of the middle class have often to enter into business enterprises; and the men ambitious of public life are discovering that their wives can be their helpers. Thus, alongside of the old-style families—who are still naturally the vast majority—we have a growing, strenuous, and—may I add?—charming section of high-class ladies, who are leading the way in education, in philanthropy, and in home life, and are blazing the trail for their more timid sisters to follow in marching towards a changed Orient.

East of Suez, serious domestic trouble is often caused by the younger women absorbing European ideas of love. Most people who know anything below the surface of Asiatic life can tell story after story of tragedies and comedies due to this. In one Korean town familiar to me trouble came to two families in this way. Some energetic American lady missionaries had been giving the girls there Western teaching, and this teaching naturally included the study of modern literature.

The daughter of one prosperous Korean, stirred to strange emotion by the new ideals revealed to her in the Western books, let her eyes fall upon the comely

son of a neighbour. He was sixteen and the lady thirteen. She dared not permit him to look on her, but as he passed her home day by day she was ever peeping at him through a hole in the paper window. Then, by the ancient device of bribing an old servant, she sent him a little roll of rice paper with an affectionate message on it. He responded, and for weeks a passionate correspondence was kept up, the two never meeting. By some treachery, the correspondence was discovered. It was sickly, sentimental, mawkish stuff, worthy of a silly schoolboy and girl at home. The parents were heart-broken. The girl's father, wounded to the quick, declared hotly that he would rather have seen her dead at his feet. No greater affront to Korean respectability and convention could have been imagined than such conduct on her part. The lad, taxed with his offence, turned coward and declared that he never wanted to have anything to do with the girl, but that she had forced her letters on him. The girl was kept under close watch, and was soon afterwards safely married to another.

In the second case the outcome was happier. The beginnings were very similar, the correspondence being, if I remember rightly, left under a stone for either to secure. When discovery came, the lad and the girl both declared that they would marry or die, for life would be worth nothing without one another. In the end, proper hymeneal go-betweens were called in and a marriage was arranged. The lad and his bride both determined to make other changes in their life. The young husband was learning to be a foreign-trained doctor. His bride insisted that he should go on with his studies, and, although she was

of good family, she took a place after her marriage as servant in a foreign household. She was quite frank about her reasons. She said that she wanted to earn money to help her husband to complete his education, and she also wanted to learn Western ways and Western housekeeping, in order that when they could afford a home of their own they might have a real one. I was a visitor in the home where that young wife served, and I shall be disappointed if in years to come, when returning to her own city, I am not asked to her own home, where she and her husband will be living out the life they are preparing for to-day.

In China, the change in the life of the women is as yet confined to small sections of the country. There it is producing effects startling to those who know China as it was yesterday. Five years ago the daughter of a great man could not go outside her home save under escort and shielded from observation; to-day you can see her riding in a public thoroughfare on a bicycle. Yesterday it was an offence to mention to a high official the name of his wife, to make any inquiries about her, or to seem aware of the fact that he was married; to-day the official will sometimes invite you to his own home, where his wife will receive you and play the part of hostess.

The European observer finds it difficult to describe fairly and justly the real home conditions of Chinese families untouched by modern ways. The dwelling-house itself is usually comfortable. I desire no better residence than the home of a prosperous northern official. Facing the street, one will find the stables and a central gateway leading to the outer courtyard.

Around this courtyard are the dwellings of the servants. An inner gateway leads to the home. This may consist of three separate buildings arranged on three sides of a square, and with a flower-garden in the centre. To the back there will be another large garden, usually very well kept, and the whole place will be surrounded by high walls. In an ordinary Chinese town no house is of more than one story, so there is absolute privacy in these gardens, and even in the midst of a city one seems cut off from the outside world. The different houses in the compound are for the different wives.

The great hindrances to happiness among Chinese women under old conditions are foot-binding, polygamy, and the power of the mother-in-law. The Manchus, the ruling caste of the country, do not permit their women to bind their feet; but among the Chinese, the higher the class the more foot-binding has been indulged in. A lady of really distinguished family has such little stumps that it is impossible for her to walk, save when half-borne by attendants on either side.

Even the Chinese working-woman hobbles along horribly. "Foot-binding means that our women are tortured every day of their lives," enlightened Chinese men will frankly tell you. Fortunately, this state of affairs, although almost universal now, is having a death-blow struck at it by the reform movement. For some years active Europeans fought their hardest to abolish the custom. Chinese sneeringly told them that they should first secure the abolition of tight-lacing among the women of England, a much more dangerous practice. Even those parents who were convinced of the harm of foot-binding dared not give

it up, for a daughter with unbound feet would be neglected in the matrimonial market. Now, however, the Europeans are finding it no longer necessary to maintain Anti-Foot-binding Societies. During the last days of 1906 the main foreign organisation for that purpose, one which owed much to the zeal and energy of Mrs. Archibald Little, was dissolved, for the work is now being taken up by the Chinese themselves.

In the old home the mother-in-law was chief. She ruled often enough with a rod of iron. A familiar symbolical picture by Chinese artists shows the mother-in-law, stern and frowning, standing with upraised stick while the daughter-in-law meekly and submissively crouches at her feet. To the tyranny of the old lady were added the jealousies, the bickerings, and the petty disputes of the wives among themselves.

It is little wonder that these women, without employment, without intellectual stimulus, and with little more to occupy their days than the care of their children, the colouring of their lips and cheeks, and the adornment of their person, should take to opium-smoking for relief. Opium suicide among young Chinese wives is comparatively common.

The life of the Chinese woman under the old conditions was miserable. She was born unwanted, for a son is a blessing, a daughter an incumbrance. The real state of affairs was brought home to me the first time I saw a Chinese wedding feast. These people love spectacular display, and never lose a chance of it. A marriage procession is always a great occasion. At this procession there were many musicians marching in front. Then followed banner-bearers and men carrying symbolical devices. The

bride herself sat in a coach of state, in crimson, gold-spangled garments. A gilt and jewelled crown was on her head, with its hangings dropping over her face. But when I looked at the face of the little woman who was the centre of the procession, cowering in her seat, I forgot the gay trappings. Beneath the white-plastered cheeks, vermilion lips, and blackened eyelashes one saw shrinking and fearful eyes and wavering cheeks that brought to mind memories of the stag when, breathless, it has run its last lap and sinks to the ground, palpitating, quivering, and terrorised, awaiting the on-coming hounds. Little wonder. She was going to a husband she had never seen, and a mother-in-law who could, if she pleased, make her life an inferno.

The old order is passing. The first great blow struck at it is by education. The new schools that are springing up in many parts are creating a new class of women. The lady of the north to-day is escaping outside the courtyards of her gilded prison and is emerging into a fuller life. Peking has its women's daily newspaper, run by women. The example of the Dowager Empress, the most masterful and dominant woman of our age, is being followed by her humbler sisters. One picture of home life under the newer conditions, as I saw it, may be more convincing than many general details.

When passing through one of the great cities of the north, I found on returning to my rooms in the afternoon that a large envelope had been left there for me. The envelope was prettily ornamented with gold dragons, and had on the outside my Chinese name with the usual high-sounding honorifics. Literally

translated, the envelope was addressed to "Great Man Ma." On opening it I found a visiting card and an invitation in Chinese to dine, *en famille*, with the chief mandarin of the district. The letter said that an American official would be present with his wife, and also another mandarin from Pekin and his wife. I opened my eyes with amazement. The wives were to be present!

That evening when my rickshaw coolie wheeled me to the house I found yet another surprise. The home was two stories high—the only two-storied dwelling in the city. By building in this fashion the mandarin had proclaimed his defiance of the evil spirits of the air, who are supposed to be disturbed by a house of extra height. Had he attempted such a building ten years ago his bricks would have been torn down and his family would have been fortunate to escape with their lives.

My host was of the usual type of high Chinese officials, cultured, courteous, and showing by his every act that he desired me to be at my ease among novel surroundings. But my attention was given mainly to my hostess, who stood ready to receive me, another Manchu lady by her side. No mother-in-law crushed her, and she was her husband's only wife. Her dress was the typical attire of the Manchus, the conquerors of China. Her robe was of silk, beautifully embroidered. Her hair was done up high, on a large frame stretching eight or nine inches above her head. Her feet were unbound, and she could walk freely. Her face was frank and open, and would have attracted attention in any London drawing-room.

When dinner was served, the ladies all sat together

at one end of the table and the men at the other. At first the Chinese ladies were a little shy. Then it transpired that they knew a few words of English, and we at once plunged into the inexhaustible language question. When the first shyness had worn off, the talk was as free and as genial as in a gathering of friends at home. What did we talk about? My host spoke no English and had never been abroad, but he had a hundred subjects of conversation, from the price of motor-cars to the newest educational schemes. He was keen on modern changes, and showed a minute knowledge of English affairs which left me surprised. The ladies took an interest in everything.

It was to be a European dinner that night, especially in my honour. At the beginning, as in duty bound, the host expressed his regrets for the poverty of the meal. "I am sorry that I have nothing fit for you to eat," he said. "My table is poor, as you see, and my fare is simple. But I trust that the mental feast from your conversation will atone for the lack of good things." I glanced at the table, and saw that it was weighed down with all manner of dainties. All the world knows the merits of the Chinese cook, and this evening the Chinese cook surpassed himself. First came a succession of English dishes—savouries, soup, fish, sausages, asparagus, fowl, and joint. Wise from former experience, I ate very little of each, for the number of courses in a Chinese dinner is so great that it would be impossible otherwise to take them all. To leave a dish untasted is serious impoliteness.

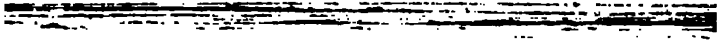
Then the European cutlery was cleared away. "We thought you would like to taste some Chinese dishes," said my host. So silver-mounted chop-sticks came out,

and the Chinese dishes arrived. The rarest Chinese delicacies, birds'-nest soup and the like, could not be served, as they take three days to prepare, and the cook only had four hours' notice of my coming. The Chinese chicken was delicious, and the Chinese way of serving fish, fried crisply in small pieces and soaked in soy (a kind of Worcester sauce) would be hard to beat. Bamboo shoots I found a somewhat tasteless delicacy. But the crowning dish of all was sea slugs. A little thrill went through the guests as this royal dainty was brought on the table. My host heaped my plate, and politeness required me to eat. But my gastronomic education has not yet reached the point where I appreciate slugs. I gulped them down and smiled. But there was an inward shudder.

Such is the *ménage* of the Chinaman with the new-style wife. The barriers have been taken down from the home. In place of a group of animated dolls, kept in the background, he has a bright companion who shares his whole life. I do not claim that there are many such households yet, but their number is rapidly increasing, and the whole tendency to-day is towards their steady growth. Once the Chinese women open their minds, the men will not be able to revert to mediævalism, even if they would.

CHAPTER XIX

A FIGHT FOR NATIONAL EXISTENCE



CHAPTER XIX

A FIGHT FOR NATIONAL EXISTENCE

WHEN in May, 1906, Tieh Liang and Tang were made High Commissioners over the Maritime Customs those who knew China best realised that the movement of "China for the Chinese" had really begun.

Tang, the younger of these two men, is an interesting and picturesque figure. Tall, strong, and inscrutable, he brings to his work the knowledge and energy of the West and the purpose of the East. The old type of Chinese mandarin wore goggles, studied Confucius, and imagined that all the earth moved around Peking. Tang's eyes are wide open; he speaks English fluently, and learned our business methods by residence in America. During the eleven months in which he kept his post he accomplished much. Then intrigues caused him to be ousted, and sent to Moukden as Governor.

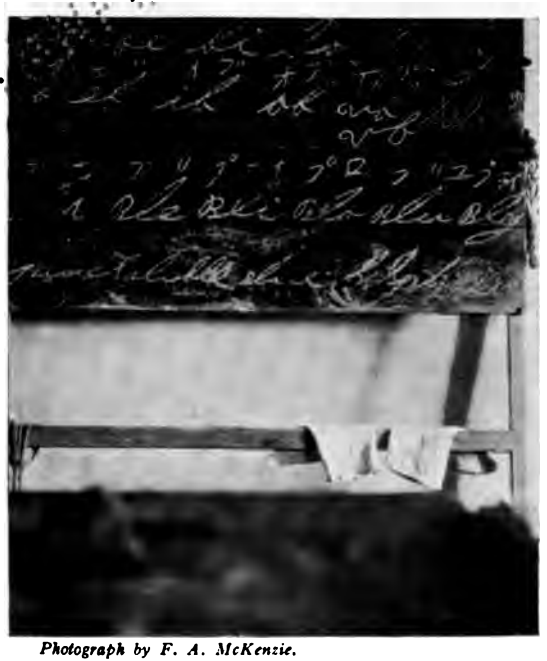
His home in Peking proclaimed the man. His big study was made for work. A large, long table gave him plenty of room to deal with documents; his papers and books were arranged with the orderliness and precision of an up-to-date insurance office; and his hours were marked out between his different departments. His every movement denotes intense energy, and he has still youth on his side. He retains his Chinese

dress, as do all the reform officials. Europeans describ him as "anti-foreign." He disclaims the title, but h would not deny the fact that he is doing his best t retain for China all that is her own, and to recov for her all that the foreigners have taken away.

His best enemies do not deny him the merit c industry. He is a voracious toiler; he filled man posts, impressing his own personality on the all. He is as strenuous in play as in work. I Tientsin they still tell the story of a German wh came to the court of Viceroy Yuan seeking concession The German found many hindrances, and to pass th time he suggested that Tang, who was then a hig official near Yuan, should learn the German game c scat, and play it with him. Tang gravely assente At the end of the first day the German had to searc his empty pockets for odd money; at the end of th second day he found it necessary to cable home fc further supplies. And he did not get his concession!

Tang has stood in the Far East for a definit policy. He is one of the moving spirits in the campaig for bringing the imperial Maritime Customs bac under Chinese control. He makes no secret of thi "The Maritime Customs represent one of the mos important of the financial assets of the Chinese Govern ment," he said to me. "China desires power in th control of it." If his party succeeds in its purpose, i will inflict the greatest blow that British prestige ha yet received in the Far East.

Sir Robert Hart, old, feeble-bodied, yet strong c mind as ever, stands to-day as the supreme Briton i the Far East. The service which he has built up ha for years been the admiration of the world. It ha



Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

BLACKBOARD IN A CHINESE SCHOOL AT TIENTSIN, SHOWING HOW CHINESE TEACHERS INSTRUCT NATIVE PUPILS IN ENGLISH.

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

BARRACK-ROOM FOR MILITARY CADETS AT PAOTINGFU, CHINA.

placed the foreign trade of China on a stable basis; it has maintained order in the ports; it has suppressed corruption; it has secured admirable water approaches for foreign shipping; and, finally, it has given China a good postal service. It has spread over the land a large and capable body of officials, whose actions have been a constant incentive and reproach to the old native mandarins.

To praise the Customs Service would seem to many like painting the lily. Every Englishman who has studied it is proud of it, and proud of the man at its head. But we cannot expect the Chinese to see this service quite in the same light as we do ourselves, and they do not.

There is another side, of which we hear less, but which is ever in the Chinese mind. China is not content to see one of its most important departments controlled by a foreigner. The old school of Peking mandarins consoled themselves by the thought that the "I.G." (as the Inspector-General is universally known) and his aides were only servants, doing their behests. The new school know better. They complain of the feeble action of the Customs authorities at Chefoo and elsewhere when the Japanese came in and violated Chinese neutrality during the last war. They are deeply wounded by the fact that Sir Robert Hart has, so far as he could, excluded Chinamen from every high office in the service. All responsible posts are given to foreigners. Chinese are admittedly better business men than Japanese, yet under the present administration a number of Japanese have been appointed to leading Chinese Customs posts, while the Chinese themselves have been kept out.

There are other and more material reasons. Chines officials would like a share of the well-paid offices They complain that the present service is needlessly costly. Men, they say, are receiving £2,000 a yea for duties which are little more than clerical. Th reformers need money for their schemes, and need i badly. Such money, they believe, could be had fron the Customs.

I give the Chinese view of this matter because it i well that it should be known in England. The ap pointment of Tieh Liang and Tang as High Com missioners is only the opening move of the attempt that will be made to recover actual control of th service. Tang has, it is true, fallen out of favour but his success or failure will not materially affect th determination of the Chinese to recover Custom autonomy.

England holds the right to maintain one of ou countrymen as Inspector-General of Customs unde the guarantees for certain loans, and under the agree ment between England and China that so long a British trade maintains its ascendency in China th Inspector-General shall be English. The Chinese hav for some time been seriously discussing raising mone among themselves to pay off the loans in order tha they might clear the foreign officials away. This polic has been advocated with great vigour in the provinc of Honan and elsewhere, and the Government som time ago approved of the idea of raising a "Patriot Fund" for the purpose. Appeals have been circulate promising reduced taxation and increased employmei once the foreigner is in this fashion removed.

Few, however, who know China will believe th

such a "Patriotic Fund" will be raised. There is one simple obstacle in the way. The Chinese Government is scrupulously honest in its dealings with foreigners. It pays punctually and pays well. But it has not yet learned the necessity of paying interest on national loans to its own people. Internal loans have been raised before to-day, and the script was all that the lenders received in return. There is abundant money in China, but not for Government loans.

The Inspector-General will remain for many years to come, and, unless we bungle even worse than we have done in the past, he will continue to be a British subject. But the power of the office is likely to be more and more curtailed. It is hard to see how we can prevent this, for it is an almost inevitable result of returning national confidence. A perhaps more serious outcome of the "China for the Chinese" movement will be the limitation of opportunities for the investment of foreign capital in the country. The maxim in Peking to-day is, "Grant no more concessions to the foreigner." Railways are to be recovered from foreign investors, mining rights are to be closely scrutinised, and traction powers are to be kept at home.

In this the Government is only echoing the popular sentiment. Newspapers, posters, and pamphlets issued all over the land tell some story. The literature of to-day is a literature of revolt, revolt against the dismemberment of China. Two specimens will give a fair idea of the nature of this present appeal to the people.

The first is a circular, "issued by the warm-hearted people of Ipoh." It is a passionate protest against

the "cruel laws" made by America against the Chinese, and it calls on the people to maintain the boycott of American goods. It points to the success of the boycott, and asserts that "it is carried on in such a civilised manner that no excuse can be found for its suppression."

"The foreigners have characterised us Chinese as being without patriotism and without unity," it says. "It is our duty to prove that this is not true. Mr. Chang, a wealthy merchant of Shanghai, left his great fortune uncared for in order to start the boycott. Mr. Fung, a young man of great talents, sacrificed his life for the purpose of encouraging his countrymen on. Mr. Liang, Chinese Minister at Washington, fought for the cancellation of the cruel exclusion laws at the risk of losing his appointment.

"Wealth, honour, and life are things we all care for. But these three gentlemen were quite ready to give them all up in order that they should help their own countrymen. Ought we not to respect their motives and avoid the disgrace of being called 'cold-blooded creatures'? Boycott! Boycott!

"There are cold-blooded creatures of the lowest order who still buy American goods. Do not argue with them. Let all Chinese with warm blood flowing in their veins apply to these low beings the same method that they have done to American goods."

The circular concludes with details of the marks on American goods, so that all can know them. The policy of the "black list" is as familiar in Cathay as in certain literary circles in London.

The second piece of literature is a small pamphlet that was issued and circulated in immense quantities

in the province of Honan. This province was up to quite recently the most bitterly anti-foreign part of China, and was noted for its bad treatment of white missionaries and travellers. Honan has been caught in the wave of reform and is mending its ways.

The pamphlet is written in the most familiar colloquial Chinese in order to appeal to the common man. It is logical and able, and what we should call a masterly political appeal. It points out that China to-day is surrounded by many nations—Japan to the east, Russia to the north, England, France, Germany, America to the west. All of these are stronger than China, and they have all determined to steal Chinese territory. If a nation's land is gone, that nation is ruined. What can be done to stop them?

First, the Chinese must learn. There is not a foreigner who does not give twenty years to study. The women of foreigners carry books about with them, so that evidently even they can read. These foreigners study not the classics, but practical things. Technical education is their strength. Let China have technical education.

Next, China has got to understand that in this world the strong oppress the weak. If a strong man tyrannises over a weak one, the weakling can appeal to his authorities. But if a strong nation oppresses another, there is none to appeal to, and the weaker nation perishes. How shall we avoid this destruction? Only by making ourselves so strong that we can fight the foreigner. Therefore, every one ought to join the army, or help in forming volunteer bands.

The Chinese woman must abandon foot-binding, and the Chinese man must put his opium pipe on one side.

China must be united. So long as there is no cohesion China cannot stand. The writer uses the familia illustration of the bundle of sticks to enforce this point The Chinese must show increased mutual love for on another, each helping the other.

The country must be opened up, but this openin must be done by the Chinese themselves, and no by foreigners. Why should China surrender th arteries of her national life by permitting men of othe lands to build and own her railways? If the foreigner have the railways, they bring their soldiers. Wha railways and mines are in the hands of foreigners mus be got back, and kept by the Chinese themselves.

Last of all the writer discusses the treatment of th foreigner in China. He points out that it is foll to attack foreign visitors who come to the interio preaching their religion, or trying to spread trade Such acts show lack of wisdom. Every other natio permits free intercourse, and China cannot set hersel against the world. To kill foreigners is to inflic injury on the Chinese themselves. Don't be afraid o the stranger, and don't injure him. Be peaceful an reasonable in all transactions, but make yourselve strong. With that appeal this remarkable productio ends.

This pamphlet may be taken as representing tha great body of reform opinion in China to-day. I hav never professed that the Chinese reformers are actuate by any special love for white men in carrying ou their changes. In sober truth, they have no particula reason to love us. Here and there are European ised officials who have Anglicised themselves, but th average reformer is keen on reform because he i

desirous of maintaining the integrity of his nation. It would be a very unfortunate thing for his country if this were otherwise.

The revolt against foreigners is directed against the Japanese quite as much as Europeans. It is a common delusion in the West that the Chinese and Japanese are peoples closely allied in sentiment and in ideals. Really there is as deep a gulf between them as between English and Hungarians. Two years ago China was carried away with a wave of admiration for the Japanese people, and Japanese influence was for the time supreme. This is no longer so. The Chinese sympathy has turned to distrust, and the Chinese people believe, not without reason, that Japan is aiming to take some of their territory from them. Japan is maintaining claims in Manchuria that are inconsistent with Chinese sovereignty in that country. There are signs, too, that the Japanese ambitions go even further.

The most important question in world politics to-morrow will be whether China is to remain free and undivided, or whether a large part of its territory is to pass under the control of Japan. The answer to this question can, and should, be given by England.

Those who forecast the future by engrossed treaties, and by the polite after-dinner speeches of diplomats, deny that such a question is likely to arise. People who look at acts rather than at spoken or written words may be excused for thinking differently. Japan is making the same preparations in China to-day as in Korea and Manchuria three years ago. The north is covered with Japanese secret agents. They are settled in every town ; they go through every railway train ; they are behind a large part of the new

journalism; they are in the schools; and they keep watch at every entrance-way to the important vice-regal yamens. This is not rhetorical description; it is sober fact.

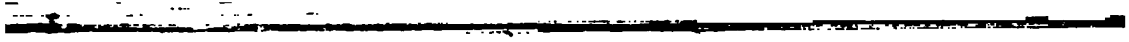
Japan sees that disturbances will come, maybe in a few months, which will give her the right to exercise active military authority in Northern China. Japanese journals openly express their hope that when trouble comes Japan will be given the mandate of the Powers to maintain order.

The condition of affairs in Manchuria to-day best illustrates what I mean. Every Chinese official whom I met in Manchuria was convinced that Japan intends to maintain predominance in that province. Whatever ambitions Russia had have been surrendered for the time, perforce, because of internal weakness. Japan is at the beginning of her strength. Chinese officialdom has been greatly hurt by the long delay of the Japanese in surrendering the control of Manchurian telegraphs, as they are bound to do. When I was in Japan in June, 1906, the Chinese telegraph commissioners, specially appointed to arrange the transfer, had been in Tokyo for a month, and had accomplished during that time absolutely nothing. "We came here to do business," they said. "We have been splendidly entertained. Every day a banquet is provided for us; every day there are carriages to take us to something arranged in our honour; and every morning a Japanese official comes to know what more can be done for us. But we did not come here for feasts or excursions. We came to secure the return of our telegraphs. Japan will not do business about that."

The Chinese are further uneasy on account of the

manner in which Japan is establishing material rights of all kinds in Manchuria. Many thousands of Japanese citizens are settling in the interior. They are at Kirin, Harbin, and Chang-chung-fu. There are great colonies of them in Newchwang, Moukden, and Liaoyang, and there are smaller settlements in three hundred villages. All along the railways there are block-houses with Japanese soldiers in them. Newchwang has been nominally returned to the Chinese, but it has been returned under conditions which leave the Japanese supremacy almost unbroken. The Japanese require that the police shall be administered by Japanese subjects chosen by the Japanese Government. They have demanded that the water-works, electric power, and various other commercial concessions shall be in Japanese hands; the Conservancy works are to be conducted in accordance with Japanese plans, and the great stretch of land taken for a Japanese settlement is to be kept by the Japanese. It is the same all over the province—everything the Japanese could lay hands on they have kept.

The Chinese administrators say that all this can only have one meaning. "Unless we stir ourselves," more than one of them has told me, "Manchuria will pass from us. Mongolia will follow Manchuria, and then what can save our Empire?" They are no longer afraid of Russia, but they are afraid of Japan. They distrust her intentions, and dread her friendship. When Japan offers them gifts, they fear either to accept or refuse. They remember what has happened in Korea, and how fair words and kind promises were the beginnings of national expropriation and extinction.



CHAPTER XX

CHINA AND FOREIGN TRADE

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THE visitor who arrives for the first time at Shanghai by the sea route cannot fail to be amazed by the sight before him. You approach the city by miles of waterway, and long before reaching the wharf you pass many docks, mills, and factories of all kinds. There is endless shipping around, steamers flying the flags of all nations, great lines of Chinese junks, and the smart boats of the Chinese Customs Service. You land at a busy quay and find yourself immediately amid a throng of carriages, rickshaws, and burdened coolies. The shops and hotels in front of you are worthy of a Western city. Shanghai covers over eight square miles of ground. Everywhere one sees life, business, and prosperity, a strange commingling of East and West. And the predominant nationality is English. This is well shown in the shipping. In 1904 the flag of Great Britain floated over 2,069 steamers entering this port, 494 flew the German flag, 298 the Norwegian, 171 the Japanese, and 67 the American.

Shanghai is significant of what is coming in the new Far East. China will soon be the greatest industrial market in the world. Four hundred and forty millions of people, civilised, clever, and alert, are swinging rapidly from mediævalism to a front place

in modern life. They want everything—railways, machinery, tools, ships, instructors, and guns. Their demand is just beginning. Already within less than a decade their foreign trade has doubled ; and the figures of to-day will be doubled and trebled again before many years are over. In the future, China as a great manufacturing nation may and will threaten our own commerce, but for many years yet she will be a buyer rather than a serious competitor.

Who is to have this trade? Twenty years ago, Chinese external commerce was almost wholly absorbed by England. It was a case of Britain first and the rest nowhere. This is no longer so. We are still first, and we still have assets of the greatest value ; but very powerful rivals, Germany, America, and Japan, are fighting us in a way we cannot ignore.

German success is undeniable. The big German steamship lines, the Norddeutscher Lloyd and the Hamburg-American, have built up very profitable connections in both passenger traffic and freight, partly at our expense. German merchants are at every port, and everywhere their numbers are growing. In Tientsin, the great northern port, German business is now almost equal in value to British. In Eastern Siberia the common language for business is German.

Why is this? The main reason is not political influence, not tariffs, and not underhand methods, but sheer business application. The British merchant has an established connection. He feels that he can take things easy and enjoy the delightful social advantages of treaty-port life. He is keen on sport, and the autumn races are to him red-letter days ; he closes

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

CHINESE RAILWAY STATION, PEKING-HANKOW RAILWAY.

his office early, and is usually off at four or five in the afternoon ; he is a clubman, and club life in the great cities of the East is the most seductive of time-wasters. The merchant makes a good living, or keeps up his average of orders with the home firm, and is content. He does not see why he should toil at the language when he can employ a compradore, or why he should make his existence a round of exhausting duties.

With the German it is different. He came with no established connection, and he has to fight for what he gets. You will find the lights burning in his office at nine or ten at night, and the clerks toiling over their books. He works harder and he works longer, and he goes out into the highways beating up trade. He studies Chinese, and insists that his subordinates shall study it.

This knowledge of the language is of far more importance than may first appear. English business has been done through compradores—English-speaking Chinese, who act as the representatives and mouthpieces of the foreign merchants. The compradore has of necessity acquired more and more power. He is often a splendid man, but, despite his merits, it is bad business to have your affairs arranged by another when you are on the spot to do them yourself. The Japanese, quick to seize strategic points, have abolished the compradore, and the Germans are working towards the same end.

I should be sorry to give the impression that one is pessimistic about British trade in China. The British, as I have said before, are still first. The main cable service is English, and the principal banking facilities are ours. We still reap the enormous advantage of London

being the financial centre of the earth. The old Chinese merchant princes, like Jardine, Matheson, & Co., have their agents everywhere, and conduct their affairs on the scale of reigning powers. The best wharves, the best docks, the best river positions, and the finest offices fly the Union Jack. The British settlement is always the main business quarter, and the British club is ever the centre of life for the whole community. If we have grown somewhat slack, it is because of our own overwhelming prosperity.

The German is our most serious white rival; next to him comes the American. So far, American competition in the Far East has not reached the stage that might have been expected. American business is large. In Manchuria, America has acquired most of the cotton drill trade, and American locomotives are seen running on many of the new railways. But the great American campaign that was expected to sweep over the Far East five years ago has not come. Efforts were made to begin it, particularly by Mr. J. J. Hill, who sent his agents to Northern China and Japan to gather all kinds of information useful to American exporters. The American consular system in China has, on the whole, been admirable, and the details given in the American consular reports should have done much to stimulate American trade there. But, possibly because of their own great home markets, Americans, up to now, seem largely to have played with the Chinese demand. Some leading concerns have sent out good men, and have done good business; but the main impression American business methods in the Far East convey is one of inadequacy.

Other white nations, apart from Germany and

America, need not be considered. The efforts that have been made in recent years to create scares over Russian trading competition are ludicrous to any man who has studied Russian business methods. The Russian is not a born trader. His field is the land rather than the factory. His virtues and his failings alike handicap him in a commercial war. French trade is very small.

The most serious rival of all will be Japan. During the past year almost every month has been marked by the opening up of fresh Japanese shipping lines to China. The Japanese boats on the Yangtsze rival the British in number and importance; Japanese travellers are everywhere, far beyond the treaty ports, and the Japanese are showing that they do not intend to be tied down by the treaty limitations which to-day restrain white men. Last August I was in a town far away in the interior of China, where no foreign merchant was allowed to settle or trade. I found a Japanese store there, with all kinds of Japanese merchandises displayed. "How is this?" I asked. "Why is the Japanese here when no one else can come?"

"The Japanese are not allowed actually to sell their goods," I was told. "This store is simply a permanent exhibition of Japanese manufactures. If you want articles like those shown, the attendant will take your orders, send to Tokyo, and have them delivered to you." It requires a finely trained Oriental mind to see the distinction.

Within the next few years the world will see the rise of a new factory system in China. Already factories are springing up on a large scale in many parts of the

Yangtsze valley. Chinese who have studied abroad return, keen to apply Western industrial methods. They have at hand a population, pliant, abundant, cheap, and industrious beyond question. The city of Fungchow is a striking example of what one individual Chinaman can do in bringing in Western industrial ways. Mr. Chang Chien set out to demonstrate there that China could manufacture for herself the fabrics now imported from abroad. He has already established in one suburb a cotton mill, equipped with English machinery, with forty thousand spindles for fine yarn, that is employing two thousand five hundred hands, and is capable of turning out thirty thousand bales a year. He has a mill for extracting oil from cotton seed, a flour mill with a capacity for seven million five hundred thousand pounds annually, a dyeing factory for cotton and silk fabrics, a factory for spinning and weaving silk, a canning factory for meat, fish, etc., and a plant for boiler making that is intended to grow eventually into a dockyard for building steam launches and their machinery. He has also a printing establishment and a soap factory.

"On the Island of Tsumging on the Yangtsze under the same management," says the Commissioner of Customs at Chinkiang, "there is a cotton mill, and a large brick factory. In addition to these eleven establishments, nineteen more are projected or in course of erection ; all factories well built, worked by steam power, and lighted by electricity. Chinkiang flour mill produces a brown flour, pronounced by a foreign analyst pure and nutritious, and which, as I have found, makes excellent bread. The produce of the Fungchow mill is of like quality. Old-fashioned mill

stones turned by steam power are now used, but steel rollers are to be introduced. I am informed by a Chinese gentleman that their textile fabrics are not equal to those of European, American, or Japanese mills, but cheap, and find ready market among the Chinese. Experience and skill will improve them.

"The waterways, which spread net-like over the country, are mostly navigable by small launches, of which Mr. Chang has half a dozen. He has built a fine quay of some 1,500 ft. at Tang-chia-cha, also constructed a bridge there 200 ft. long, over the Liho; is making lock-gates on the creek between Tang-chia-cha and the Yangtsze, otherwise impassable, and he has acquired a dredger wherewith to deepen the numerous shallows in the canals. He will shortly have two steamers running on the Yangtsze between Fungchow and Nanking."

The more progressive viceroys are taking an active part in promoting new industrial enterprises. Chang-Chih-Tung has for some years had great arsenals and factories at work; the Viceroy Yuan is equally promoting industrialism, and to-day there are several Chinese Commissioners in Europe carefully examining industrial methods here and engaging picked assistants to go to their land. The Chinese Government understands, in part, that if it wishes to keep national industry in its own hands, or in the hands of its people, it must help it forward.

There can be no more striking difference than between the Chinese and the Japanese as merchants. In Japan the brains and the best blood of the nation have for generations gone into the Government service; in China the keenest intellects have gone into trade.

The Japanese trader was for long the scorn of the East, because of his trickery and untrustworthiness; the praise of the Chinese merchant is in every man's mouth.

A large silk-buying firm in Japan not long since assured me that it finds it necessary to examine and measure almost every yard of the material bought for exportation to America, in order to prevent itself from being robbed. A second silk firm, working from London, told me that it is in the habit of sending out its own expensive designs to Japan to be embroidered. The greatest precautions are taken by it to prevent these designs becoming public, and yet it has found, time after time, that within a week or two of the arrival of its first consignments from Japan similar consignments are on sale in Hamburg. Contrast this with the Chinese. In the tea trade it is the custom for the buyers at Hankow to purchase their tea in bulk, possibly hundreds of thousands of pounds in weight, and to purchase at the same time tea boxes from the sellers and to permit them to pack the tea and despatch it to England. The buyer troubles no more after he has finished selecting. Firms in Mincing Lane tell me that they would be quite content to distribute the cases which arrive in this fashion without opening or examining them in any way, although if they were bad the loss would fall on them. They are confident from old experience that the Chinese goods will be up to sample. The Chinese merchant keeps his word, whatever the loss, and once he has entered into a bargain he will fulfil it even though he is bankrupted in doing so. The Japanese is notorious for endeavouring to get behind

any contract that subsequent events have made likely to be unprofitable.

The head of one of the largest business houses in China and Japan once explained to me the difference between the Chinese and Japanese in commerce as he had found it. "My firm," he said, "has been at work in Japan for over twenty years. We have done very well and our turnover is considerable. But we feel to-day that we have no more real grip here than we had at the beginning. The Japanese buy off us because it is to their immediate advantage to do so, but our oldest customers would turn from us in a moment for any fancied advantage from a newcomer, however small. In China we have our regular established connection and we are able to work in with the local merchants. A Chinese merchant will come to us at times and will tell us of some business that is going. 'This is not in my line,' he will say, 'but I thought the information might be of use to you.' He will do this simply as a matter of friendly regard, and we, if opportunity arises, will reciprocate. Now if I were to go to one of my oldest Japanese clients and were to tell him of a good business opportunity that would yield him considerable profit, while yielding me nothing, I would expect to lose that man's trade in consequence. He would at once suspect me of ulterior motives; he would go with suspicious eye over all our recent transactions, and he would believe that it was impossible for me to go out of my way to help him where there was no profit for myself." As I have pointed out in an earlier chapter, I believe that in the years to come the standard of Japanese commercial honesty will be

considerably raised. But, for the present, the Chinese in this respect are on quite another and higher plane.

In describing the possibilities of the Chinese market, one has to tell not what is, but what will be. It is less than seven years since the Boxer movement spread like madness over the north of China, and the people wanted to cast out Western men and Western ways. The China of 1900 was reactionary, anti-foreign, insolent, and impracticable. The China of to-day is in the midst of the most stupendous transition the world has ever seen, a transition compared with which the modernisation of Japan was almost trivial. The China of to-morrow, clamorous with new needs, ringing with new industries, guided by men of great brain power and foresight, will be the world's market-place.

Less than thirty years ago the first railway in China was torn up and partly thrown into the sea, in order to check all new ways of locomotion. To-day China is one of the most active railway builders. Electric tramways are beginning to run in some cities; and a high mandarin not long since described to me how he had bought a motor-car for the use of the imperial family. One sees on all sides evidences of the coming of the new industrialism.

There are certainly some disturbing factors in the situation—factors bringing an element of risk. The first of these is the "China for the Chinese" movement which has recently played so important a part in business affairs. The second disturbing factor is the possibility of serious political ferment on the death of the Dowager Empress. The third is the certain reaction that will recur in limited districts against the foreigner. The introduction of modern ways will

not be accomplished wholly without trouble. The coming of the electric tramway excites the wrath of the rickshaw coolies; the railways disturb the great cart traffic; the general introduction of steamers in the canals will deprive myriad river families of their bread. I take a typical protest from some Chinese business people against the introduction of electric traction, a protest made within the past few months. "Now, to introduce electric trams into the greatly crowded streets of the foreign settlements," they say, "overwhelmingly increases the dangers to pedestrians. Can any one fail to picture to himself the numbers of those who will be injured by these electric trams? Rustics from the surrounding villages and towns, traders and visitors from the interior, fill the streets in the course of their journeyings. If these people fail for one moment to be on the look-out or to avoid these trams, they will be naturally hurt. This will cause very serious trouble. In view of this we, the merchants and artisans of various trades and handicrafts, are much disturbed at the imminent danger overhanging us."

The European firm that resolves to attack the Chinese market would be well advised to secure the co-operation of a high-class Chinese house. A good Chinese merchant will make the interest of his foreign client his own, and he will work for him and with him. I am not here advising that any foreign house should place itself blindly in the hands of a Chinese agent, or that it should trust everything to a Chinese partner. But it is certain that more and more in the future the growing Chinese nationalism will make the co-operation of Chinese business associates essential for

those desirous of securing considerable trade. Besides having a reliable Chinese associate, the foreign firm should send a trusted and responsible man to the Far East, and give him considerable freedom of action. Such a man needs to be capable of using social influence, and yet above the power of temptation that is freely felt in the great white settlements. No trader can do his best in the Far East unless he is of rather stiffer moral fibre than the average man at home. I have known too much and heard too much of the good man in England wrecking himself within three years of his arrival in China to think this warning unnecessary. For the firm prepared to cater for it, there will be in China to-morrow the greatest potential market, in certain lines, that the world has ever known. This market will be largely appropriated within our time. Nothing but our apathy can prevent British merchants holding in the future, as in the past, first place there.

CHAPTER XXI

THE GREAT MISSIONARY QUESTION

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I

"THE awakening of China, which now seems to be near, may be traced in no small measure to the hand of the missionary," said Tuan-fang, Viceroy of Hunan. "For this service you will find China not ungrateful."

Less than seventy years ago the Protestant missionaries in China had only six converts. To-day they have about one hundred and fifty thousand communicants, which means not far short of seven hundred thousand adherents. In Japan, effective missionary work has been going on for a little over twenty years, and to-day there are fifty-five thousand converts. In Korea, Christianity is spreading at an amazing rate, especially in the northern provinces. But the influence of Christianity in these lands is not to be measured by the enrolled adherents. The white teachers have been pioneers in battering down prejudice and misunderstanding. They have shown to the East what the West is and what Western civilisation means. They brought modern medical knowledge to China, and China is now adopting it; they brought modern instruction, and to-day temple after temple is having its idols displaced and deposed

and the teacher of Western learning put in their place; they started and maintained the campaign which is abolishing foot-binding, and they are largely responsible for the fight against opium. They are steadily winning the goodwill and respect of the official classes. They have been not only teachers of religion, but the advance agents of civilisation.

II

The visitor to the Far East who spends his time mainly around treaty ports will quickly acquire an abundant stock of anti-missionary stories. Some of these tales, such as the hoary lie about Bibles being used for the manufacture of Chinese shoes, were known to our great-grandfathers, and are chuckled over by every newly arrived "griffin," as though he were the original raconteur who had discovered them.

It is easy to learn the cause and origin of some of these treaty-port anecdotes. There is, in the Far East, unfortunately, a gulf between the average missionary and the average commercial man. For this both are somewhat to blame. The oddity and faddism of a few missionaries have given the general community some ground for attack. A generation ago there was reason for suspecting that many so-called converts adopted Christianity mainly for what they could get. The policy of making "rice Christians"—to use an expressive phrase which explains itself—was then upheld by leading missionaries. It has long since been definitely abandoned.

The gulf between the general residents and the missionaries is now being narrowed and bridged over.

Leading European officials, merchants, and publicists have been won by the good work they have seen accomplished. There has been a great improvement in the personnel of the missionaries themselves. In old times men were often sent out because they were not clever enough to succeed at home. In some societies piety was allowed to take the place of ability. In recent years the wave of enthusiasm aroused by Moody, the evangelist, and Henry Drummond, the scientist, and men like Mr. Mott has altered that, and has given the work the pick of the brains of Scottish, American, and, to a lesser degree, English colleges. The genuineness of the movement was tested by fire and blood during the Boxer uprising, and it stood the test.

There are to-day over three thousand Protestant missionaries at work in China, nearly all of them English or American. Most of these are young people in the prime of life. They have knowingly placed themselves in positions where any burst of national passion inevitably means their death in cruel and horrible form. Many of their colleagues have been killed during the past seven years, some of them dying under torments so heartless and punishments so degrading that we dare not think of them. Every missionary in the interior of China to-day lives, knowingly, on the edge of the crater of a rumbling volcano. We may, if we will, deny these men and women wisdom; at least we cannot deny them courage.

Some time ago I hurried to a district in the north where an immediate uprising was expected. A warship had been sent to the coast to take the missionaries away, and I reached the interior town where they had come

together to settle what they would do. First a letter was read from the American minister, leaving the decision in the hands of the people on the spot, but strongly urging that even if the men remained the ladies should be sent to the coast and to safety.

Then one little lady arose. "If trouble comes," she said, "my women will be in great difficulties. I mean to stay by them." Then arose a second. "I remain with my husband," she said; and she shot a smile, half laughter and half tears, at the man opposite. One after another said the same. As I listened to the serene and cheerful declarations of the speakers, my heart went out to them. They well knew what their fate might be, for some of them had cared for the tortured whites who escaped from the Boxer uprising. Yet they stayed at their posts.

III

My mind inevitably goes back to some of the main missionary incidents that it has been my good fortune to witness. One day last autumn I stood outside the compound of Mr. Turley, the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Moukden, and looked at a pleasant-faced, elderly Chinese Bible-woman talking with and selling books to a crowd of natives around her. The woman's story was an exciting one.

Six years ago, when the anti-foreign movement arose in Northern China, the Boxers at Moukden determined to make an end of Christianity there. They stormed the Roman Catholic Cathedral, and butchered the priests and nuns and their converts in horrible fashion. They broke up the Protestant

missions, with ghastly accompaniments of torture and shame. They specially resolved to lay hold of this Bible-woman, for she had been so active and successful that all knew of her. At last they caught her, with two nieces, in a suburb of the city.

The three women were thrown on a springless Chinese cart, and, surrounded by a howling mob, were led towards the centre of Moukden, where they were to be tortured, outraged, and killed. The two nieces were crying bitterly, and the old woman turned to them and spoke very earnestly. "Why should they cry?" she asked. "Let them pray! God would help them!" She herself started praying, and soon her nieces joined her, and their tears ceased.

It was a long and weary ride. The roadway was blocked with carts, and the death tumbrel could only move along at a snail's pace. The fears of the younger women were now over. There was not a tremble or a tear from them. Soon an uneasy sense of awe came over the Boxers. Why were not these women afraid? One man suggested that some spirit was guarding them, and another spoke fearfully of the dangers that would fall on those who should offend the spirits, while others continued to shout loudly for vengeance. Still the cart moved on, nearer to the execution ground.

As it passed under the shadow of the city walls a Chinese gentleman, well known in the locality, rode by in state. He cast his eye over the women. "What fools you Boxers are," he said, "to kill these women, when they might be sold for good silver! I will buy them off you." The Boxers, already uneasy, saw a way out of their difficulty, and seized the

opportunity. The women, bound as they were, were tossed into the back of the gentleman's cart and driven out towards the country.

When the cart had travelled away from the crowds into a quiet part the owner stopped it. The women's bonds were cut, and they were taken out. The Chinaman looked at them with a smile. "Some day," he said, "when you are well off again, you can pay me back what I have given for you to-day. Now you can go where you please." Is it any wonder that that old Bible-woman believes in Christianity and in prayer? When treaty-port critics talk to me of "rice Christians," I remember the Bible-woman of Moukden.

IV

In Northern Korea we have to-day one of the most remarkable examples of what modern missions are succeeding in doing. Thirty years ago Korea was a closed land, in which a stranger dared not set foot under pain of death. Northern Korea was the great bandit region, where no man's life was worth an hour's purchase. It was a district given up to plunder, because neither the Chinese Government to the north nor the Korean Government to the south was able to control it. Even to-day one can see on the hill-tops the ruins of the old castles of refuge, where the frightened inhabitants would rush in to defend themselves when the bandit host poured down. That region is now covered with self-supporting Christian churches.

Fourteen or fifteen years ago two young Americans

—Samuel Moffett and Graham Lee—settled in Ping-yang. They were regarded with suspicion at first, and they met with some very rough treatment. Gradually the people realised that these two young men meant well by them, and in the great political troubles that came upon Korea at that time the missionaries found their opportunity. The two Americans were clever, clear-thinking men, possessed of unconquerable energy. They worked at pressure unsurpassed on the Stock Exchange or in the city counting-house. They were amidst a people practically without religion, except a fear of evil spirits haunting their lives.

Last July I visited their station. I found that they had their central church with an ordinary Sunday afternoon congregation of between thirteen and fifteen hundred. I found daughter church after daughter church in the town, each packed with its own congregation. I went into Sunday schools, thronged to repletion. The Korean young men asked me to speak on a week evening to them. A hall full of young fellows, in their long white robes—packed like sardines in a box—awaited me when I arrived. There was a hospital working at high pressure; there were schools, ordinary and technical, started by the converts themselves; there were churches all over the province managed wholly by converts. I found an energy and enthusiasm equalling that of any one of the great institutional churches in white lands. I found, too, away in the province to the south, and away northwards in Sun-chon, other centres had started up, offshoots from Ping-yang, rivalling it in success and numbers. In Sun-chon, for instance, there are no fewer than eighty churches in existence, after a separate

work of five years. The statistics of Sun-chon are so remarkable that I quote them in full:

Table of Comparative Growth since the Opening of Sun-chon Station in September, 1901.

Date of Report.	Groups.	Communicants.	Baptized during the year.	Catechumens.	Catechumens received during the year.	Total Adherents.
July, 1902	44	677	267	1,340	696	3,429
July, 1903	61	1,027	367	1,648	746	4,537
July, 1904	57	1,265	310	1,792	536	5,119
July, 1905	60	1,958	711	1,952	948	6,507
July, 1906	78	3,121	1,164	3,020	2,297	11,943

DEFINITIONS

Adherents.—Are adult believers in regular attendance at church services and leading consistent Christian lives. No infants or casual attendants or relatives of believers counted.

Catechumen.—Has been believing at least six months, and has passed a satisfactory examination on Christian knowledge and conduct.

Communicants.—Have been Catechumens for one year, during which time they have led consistent lives with no relapses into heathenism, after which they have passed a searching examination before baptism.

How has this success been attained in Northern Korea? It is certainly not due to political patronage nor to monetary gifts. The Korean Church has been built up in a time of great political turmoil. The missionaries have found the work grow so on their hands that, though their numbers have increased much beyond the first two, the white teachers can be little more than directors and leaders of the native work. It is the native Christians who evangelise,

teach, and, in the main, who preach. Everything that can be done by the Koreans themselves is left to them. They are expected to pay the cost of their own houses of worship, to build their own churches, and to pay their own native ministers and evangelists, and they do it.

I have tested the converts of this Church. I had several of them in my employment for months during the Japanese War. I had to trust them largely, and they could have fleeced me at many points. I found them the most faithful and most enthusiastic and the most daring native servants I have ever known. When I revisited their northern homes last summer they came out to meet me again—not old servants alone, but old friends whom one had learnt to admire and love.

V

There are missionaries and missionaries. Catholic and Protestant missions have been carried out on radically different lines. The Protestant missionary relies on preaching, teaching, medical, and philanthropic work. The Catholic, on the other hand, while not neglecting these lines, largely employs political methods. The Protestant missionary has no rank save that which courtesy gives him, and he has declined to accept any. The Catholic missionary is an official and has to be recognised as such, and the Catholic bishop has to be given the privileges of a high Chinese dignitary. The Protestant missionary tries to avoid mixing himself up with the legal and political disputes of his converts; the Catholic missionary openly protects his people, and uses all his influence in the courts

in their favour, himself, if necessary and possible, encroaching upon magisterial functions.

I should be sorry to write anything that might be taken as a depreciation of the zeal and disinterestedness of the Catholic missionaries in China and Korea. They are, as a body, self-sacrificing, resolute, and devoted men and women. But the personal merit of the agents does not alter the fact that the methods they employ are accompanied by grave disadvantages. Their assumption of official rank has aroused intense prejudice against them. Their interference in the courts of law has often brought about real injustice. It has encouraged undesirable characters to join them in order that foreign influence might aid their claims before the mandarins. Most missionaries know what care has to be taken to prevent a litigant from using the name of the foreign teacher to advance his cause. The interference by the Catholic priests in Chinese courts has been responsible for hatreds, misunderstandings and extortion. It has caused more than one popular uprising, and it has prejudiced millions against Christianity.

The outstanding criticism that an impartial observer would pass upon the Protestant missionaries in China is that in many parts to-day energy is being wasted and needless expense incurred by the multiplicity of agencies. There are about ninety separate missionary organisations at work in China alone. Some of these are devoted to special branches of work, such as Bible Societies, the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind, and the Kerr Refuge for the Insane. But, allowing for these, we find in various districts the repetition of minor sectarian divisions at the cost of efficiency and

economy. It is absurd, for instance, that there should be half a dozen comparatively weak missionary schools in a district where one strong establishment could do all that is necessary. The missionaries themselves recognise this. Some years ago a serious endeavour was made to bring about organisations that would prevent such overlapping, and join up allied activities. The difficulty in bringing this to pass was found, I understand, not among the workers in China, but among the societies and subscribers in Europe and America.

VI

One charge sometimes heard against the missionary is that he lives in unnecessary luxury. According to some treaty-port critics, he is lapped in comforts that he could never hope to enjoy at home, and his days are relieved by many holidays and long furloughs. I have stayed in many missionary homes in my travels in the interior, and I have, times without number, received the greatest personal kindness from missionaries of all faiths. I found the average missionary home simple, plainly and inexpensively furnished. The greatest luxuries in most of them were the books and the husband's typewriter. In the overwhelming majority of the houses I visited everything showed that the housewife was attempting to make a brave show on a very moderate expenditure. So much has been said by partly informed critics on the other side that it is as well that one who has seen should tell what he knows.

One real danger in the missionary movement in the Far East is not that the teachers should be too

ostentatious and extravagant, but that they should go too much to the other extreme. Young people in the first rush of overwhelming enthusiasm attempt to live impossibly Spartan lives. Older missionaries, anxious not to give the outside world room for criticism, deny themselves comforts that are essential to health. There has been a craze, I understand, for "cheap" missionaries. Globe-trotters, passing hastily through a few stations, have reckoned up roughly how much the bare necessaries of life cost, and how much a missionary can live for. One bluff and popular member of Parliament visited a missionary station for a week some years ago. The missionary spent two months' salary on entertaining him, and had to go on short commons for the remainder of the year in consequence. The visitor returned home and publicly denounced his host and others for their extravagant living!

The "cheap" missionary is the dearest article the Churches can have. I have nothing but respect for the men and women who have attempted to live on purely native lines, whether as Salvation Army beggars in Southern India or as China Inland missionaries in the heart of Cathay. Such experiments, however, have been attended by a fearful cost of life and health, and, to some extent, of influence. The Salvation Army modified its first Indian methods, and the pioneers who so bravely tried to live in purely Chinese fashion are learning, too, that the requirements of white men and yellow men are not the same.

One really good missionary of high mental calibre, thoroughly trained, and living an adequate life, is worth a score of half-trained and ill-equipped men. We have to face the fact that the work of the modern

missionary is the most difficult that the Church calls on any of its agents to do. It is work demanding a combination of zeal, self-devotion, knowledge, and initial ability. If the missionary in a land like China or Japan is to be a success, he must be a leader of men. He must possess certain external qualifications which will give him the right to talk and be heard by those among whom he goes. The modern Chinese mandarin or the Japanese official is often enough in full touch with English ways. He knows our schools—very possibly one of his own sons is at Harrow ; he knows our Universities, for it is almost certain that some friend of his will have been through Cambridge or Yale ; and he has very likely read our great authors in translation, if not in their originals. Now, what is the use of sending out to an official like this a pious young man who was educated in a board school or a cheap private establishment, who passed through no University, and who had no opportunities of making up for these deficiencies by later training? We must meet the clever Oriental on his own ground, with men as well trained as he is, and such training is not to be secured by a short course in a theological college.

All the missionaries known to me who have made a success of their work, have been fully trained men, who started out with good natural abilities, and who added to them a thorough education. Some years ago the late D. L. Moody expressed a wish that every theological candidate should have a year as a book agent before he was ordained. It would be well if every missionary candidate could have, not a year as a book agent, but a course at a great University before

starting work. There he would secure the knowledge of the world and the power of dealing with men which the most carefully managed exclusively missionary institution cannot give.

No one pretends that a University training is essential for missionary success. Some of the best workers have lacked it. But the University training helps, and those who did not have it had to acquire their mental discipline in other ways.

The white missionary who is to do his work to the best advantage must have a reasonable degree of comfort in his home. He is often in a situation that is exceedingly trying, isolated, and fighting hostile circumstances. He has to spend months of each year, if he does his duty properly, living among the natives in native style. If he has no haven of rest, breakdown is almost inevitable; and the trained missionary is too expensive a product to be allowed to go under for a few pounds extra a year. To put the matter badly and brutally, it is not good business to permit a man whose education has cost a society possibly a thousand or twelve hundred pounds, to become useless or almost useless at the outset of his career through semi-starvation.

The charge of laziness sometimes brought against missionaries is, to those who know their work, ludicrously untrue. No doubt there are lazy men here and there, men who have lost their ideals, their energy, and their faith. The average Far Eastern missionary, however, as I know him, works exceedingly hard. Here, for instance, is a typical report from a young American friend of mine. He is describing to his Society what he has done in the year. He tells us first that he has

been travelling away from home for one hundred and forty-five days during the past twelve months. "I have several times held as many as thirty-five services a month, preaching in person as many as twenty-six times. A not uncommon day's work was a trip of varying length in the morning, examinations and consultations all the afternoon, hurried sermon preparations during the evening meal, and an evening service in which might occur baptisms, reception of catechumens, the Lord's Supper, annual election of officers, and infant baptisms. Often a wedding ceremony would follow at the close of a two hours' service, and then conference with the newly elected officers until far into the night. Late hours, early starts, and the same programme day after day frequently left the Korean helpers completely exhausted after a few days."

VII

The most striking thing in the missionary position in China to-day is the way in which the confidence of the officials is being won.

In Liaoyang I found on entering the city after the great battle between the Russians and the Japanese, that the chief Chinese magistrate had handed over the work of relieving distress to Dr. Westwater, the well-known missionary there. The magistrate and the leading merchants had given the buildings and were supplying money, and allowed Dr. Westwater a free hand in the management of affairs. This is as though the authorities, say, in Birmingham, were in an hour of crisis to ask a Japanese resident to take the entire charge of their Poor Law administration. "Why do

not the Chinese officials do this for themselves?" I asked. "The magistrate knows that if he gave the money to his own assistants, most of it would go in their pockets," came the reply. "He is sure that the doctor will spend all of it on the people."

Viceroy Yuan bore a similar testimony on behalf of the Imperial Government to the work of the Manchuria missionaries. When thanking them for help given to homeless and destitute Chinese during the war, he wrote in an official message, "I sincerely hope that you will be enabled through the blessings of heaven to continue your work among the Chinese, to whom you have deeply endeared yourself by the demonstrations of your universal love."

We find to-day in district after district that the high Chinese officials themselves are subscribing liberally to missionary schools and hospitals, that they are attending special missionary anniversaries and opening ceremonies, and are giving sympathetic, kindly, and friendly aid. The pupils of the medical missionaries are to-day the native leaders of the reformed medical profession all over China. Missionary schools are being imitated by the officials in many cities. The missionaries are leading the way in sanitation, in the creation of modern literature, in the promulgation of Western scientific ideas, and by arousing communities to new commercial needs. Their hospitals have broken down the prejudices of hundreds of thousands, and the martyrdom of their pioneers has been the voluntary offering of the West for the regeneration of China.

In the missionary movement in the Far East to-day we have, despite mistakes, misunderstandings, and a

proportion of unsuitable men, one of the most splendid exhibitions of Anglo-Saxon altruism the world has ever seen.

VIII

What are the dangers of modern missions? I have already written as emphatically as I could about the perilous idea of working them on the cheap or with inferior men. The missionary who has not received a thorough intellectual training is ever liable to narrowness and crankiness. With strong men there is a temptation, in their zeal for results, to use political means. These means look so easy, and they make a splendid show; but they are always in the end a curse to those who employ them.

Another danger to missions is the continuance of the second-class man among the workers on the field. The second-class man gives the critic his handle, and is a burden on the capable. We should get rid of the idea that, because a person has been adopted by a society, he must be kept by it for ever, however unsuitable he proves. Modern missions should be run on strictly business lines. Piety should never be an excuse for incapacity, and the man whose good intentions and zeal are his sole recommendations should be kept at home.

The missionary societies in the future will, I believe, use the press both at home and abroad far more extensively than they do to-day. They will show the country that foreign missions are not alone the cause of religion, but are also the cause of civilisation, and that the trained, efficient, and skilled agent of the Churches in the interior of China is the outpost

defender of those ideals on which the stability of our civilised life to-day depends.

A generation ago the Far East was separated from the West by a great gulf, and the Churches at home had to depend for their information on the reports of the few who visited them. To-day East and West are so close together that there is no reason why religious leaders in England should not at intervals see for themselves what their comrades at the front are doing. In the coming years it will, I hope, be taken as a matter of course that the leaders of the Churches at home shall all give part of their time to visiting, encouraging, and aiding the agents of the Church abroad. London is only nineteen or twenty days' distance from Peking. Our great church leaders could visit the missionary centres in Northern China and be back home again within ten weeks from their starting from London, at a cost of less than two hundred pounds. I cannot imagine two hundred pounds better spent, both for the cheer and encouragement of the missionaries abroad and the instruction of the people at home.

CHAPTER XXII

JAPAN AND CHRISTIANITY

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THE missionary question in Japan has reached a stage of interest to all concerned in the relations of Eastern and Western nations. A generation ago the missionary was barred, and the profession of Christian faith rendered a man liable to death. "When I first stepped upon Japanese soil," said Dr. W. Eliot Griffis, "I saw the name of Yesu (Jesus) outlawed in the Government edicts, and found that it was popularly synonymous with demons and sorcery. There was no Christian Church, and but a half-dozen hidden Bible Christians. Some Roman Catholics in the red clothes of the criminal, roped together, were being led to banishment in mountain-crater-prisons."

For many years there has been not merely nominal, but actual freedom of conscience in Japan. The young man who adopts Christianity rests under no social stigma, although his changed faith may produce some temporary family trouble. The 55,000 enrolled Protestant Christians included statesmen, officials, and army officers; and Christianity has among its open adherents a number of really influential men disproportionate to its strength. Even leaders of opinion who are not Christians will often take part in great Christian ceremonies. Thus recently Count Okuma addressed the General Conference of the Church of

Christ in Japan. "It gives me great pleasure," he said, "to meet so many workers in the spiritual world as are here to-day. For one like myself, who has no religion, to talk to religious people like you is no easy task. I am very much ashamed of the fact that I have no religion, but it is the result of unavoidable circumstances. I am a product of the age in which I have lived. No one but a genius is able to overcome the consequences of his environment. Though having nothing that can be called religion, I have notions in reference to a Power that is above us."

Two great forces are now at work affecting the Christian movement in Japan. The first of these is a revival of Buddhism. The Buddhist faith in Japan was for long exceedingly degenerate, and the priests, often lazy and licentious, aroused considerable scandal by their lives. Apart from national claims, the Buddhists had little hold on the mass of the thinking men of the country. This, however, has been strikingly changed. Some of the Buddhist leaders, adopting the methods and the moral teaching of Christianity, have been quietly pushing Buddhism to the front as a national faith. They are sending their missionaries abroad to China, to Korea, to India, to Hawaii, and elsewhere.

Once Buddhism is generally regarded by the Japanese people as the national faith, and Christianity as the foreign creed, the difficulties in the way of Christianity will be enormously increased. A counter movement is going on, one that is regarded by many missionaries as dangerous and immature, but which may in the end be the best advance ever made by

Photograph by F. A. McKenzie.

SHINTO PRIESTS, OFFICIALLY ATTACHED TO THE JAPANESE ARMY.

the Christian religion in the Far East. The Japanese converts are abolishing the sectarian differences of European and American Protestant Churches, and they are also politely, but none the less firmly, giving the missionaries notice to quit, and are declaring that they will carry out their church work in their own way and with their own people.

The Japanese Christians were early struck by the folly of reproducing all the minute differences of Protestantism in their land. Their first attempts to limit the number of denominations were frowned upon by several of the missionary bodies, more particularly in America. The missionary societies desire that their men on the field should maintain the particular form of faith favoured by them. The real difficulty in the way of co-operation on the mission field is nearly always from the subscribers of the funds at home, and not from the workers at the front. Faced by the problems of non-Christian countries, the divisions which seem deep and impassable at home are found to be nothing more than shallow, narrow, and easily bridged rivulets.

The Church of England and American Episcopal Church naturally joined forces. A Methodist Church, representing all the different Methodist bodies, has now practically completed its organisation ; the various Presbyterian bodies have come together as "The Church of Jesus Christ in Japan," and it seems probable that even the deeper lines of denominational demarcation will be broken down and one united Christian Japanese Church established.

The movement for the exclusion of the foreign missionary involves other issues. The Japanese feel

that if they are strong enough to manage their own political affairs, they are also strong enough to manage their own religion. The whole nation deeply resents being classed as heathen or put on the same level as China and Korea, even though its national religious practices are the same. The Japanese Christians say that they will govern themselves, and they have issued their Declaration of Independence. Practically their claim is that they have now reached a higher intellectual level than that of the men sent out to instruct them, and that the latter are not required.

The situation is a difficult one and requires tact and careful handling. There is much that is healthy in the desire of the Japanese to manage the Christian propaganda in their own land, and Christianity will never lay hold of the mass of the people so long as foreigners keep chief control. On the other hand, many of the missionaries are not unnaturally somewhat hurt at the eagerness of their converts to escape from their instruction. They feel too that the young Churches are not sufficiently advanced to go on by themselves, and they believe that the hasty assumption of native authority will retard the work and lead to many blunders.

The less desirable side of the new movement is that it is associated in some minds with a decidedly anti-foreign tendency. This was shown in a letter that some young Korean Christians, who went to Tokyo to study, wrote to a friend of mine after they had been away for a few months. "We cannot understand," they said, "what some of the Christians in this land want us to do. Several of them have come to us and have told us that all brown people are of

one race, and that all white people are of another. They urge us to write to our fellow church members in our city, advising them to have nothing to do with white missionaries, and to work with people of their race. What does this mean?" I do not say that this idea is common among the Japanese Christians who are declaring their independence, but it is certainly there.

The question of foreign missionary control was very fully and ably discussed from the Japanese point of view in the *Fukuin Shimpo* on October 25 last year. The writer admitted that Japanese Christianity owes an enormous debt of gratitude to the foreigner. "That in a world where profit is sought after and greed prevails to such a large extent, the missionary spirit should exist among Christians in foreign lands, to a degree implied by this enormous outlay of effort and money, is an interesting fact which goes far to show that there is much benevolence in the world." But when the article went on to discuss the attitude of Japanese Christians to the foreign missionaries a note of superiority was assumed. "We should see to it that their money is not wasted, and when their missionary efforts are misdirected it is our place to faithfully point out where they are wrong. We should do our best to keep those who have sent them to these shores from being disappointed by their fruits of labour. Far be it from us to abandon old missionaries as in ancient times old women for whom there was no longer any use were abandoned in the mountains (*uba sute-yama no koji no gotoku su*). We are in favour of rendering their declining years as happy as possible. If we had our way, we would 'send them back to their

countries clothed in brocade.' Are all these nine hundred missionaries needed in Japan? Considered in proportion to the population, their number would be too small were it multiplied by ten. But when we consider the actual use to which they can now be put, we are obliged to confess that they are in excess of requirements, and we fear that not a few of them disappoint those who sent them here. How many missionaries are there that efficiently carry on mission work among the Japanese? Even those whom special attainments have qualified to carry on direct evangelistic work find that opportunities for doing this grow fewer every day. Just as Japan has little use for foreign medical men or for military officers to-day, so she has less and less use for foreign missionaries."

The writer went on to declare that the number of foreign missionaries in whose talents, devotion, learning, and eloquence the Japanese pastors have sufficient confidence to make them desire them as fellow workers, is very few. He claimed that many Japanese who co-operated with them did so only because the missionaries had long purses, and he demanded the reduction of the number of missionaries by weeding out the useless ones and only leaving men of character and real efficiency.[1]

Whether we like it or not, the day of the foreign missionary of the old type in Japan is over. The missionary work there to-morrow will rather be done by the occasional visits of expert foreign evangelists

[1] For the translation of this article I am indebted to the monthly missionary summary in *The Japan Weekly Mail*, a summary that can be heartily commended to all who desire to keep in touch with religious development from the Japanese point of view.

and by the literary and intellectual efforts of a few highly trained teachers, than along present lines.

The independence movement is spreading from Japan to other parts of Asia, and in the future much more will be heard of it than in the past. Thus the Rev. W. Dale, of the Presbyterian Church of England Mission, writes to me, "The Russo-Japanese War has of course touched the feeling and ambition of South China, where our missions are situated, as much as other parts of that great Empire, and some of the younger men, preachers and church members, are inclined to resent any interference at all on the part of the foreign mission staff and to claim absolute independence. As soon as they can entirely support their own Christian work, their desire for increased self-control will not be withstood either from home or by the mission staff on the field.

"At the Amoy centre things have gone a little further, and an attempt is now being made to gather together the converts from the three Protestant missions at work there into an absolutely independent Christian Church. The missionaries look with some misgiving on this movement; but they are not trying to resist it, and if it be wisely conducted and have some success, no doubt the movement will be spread. There is a great untouched field in many parts of China, and there are parts of our own district which have not yet been fully cultivated, so that, if in the districts where the Gospel has a real and considerable hold, independent, self-supporting Churches can be established, it will enable the missions to push on into yet comparatively unoccupied fields."

The son goes out in the world and the mother

grieves, knowing that many dangers await him Yet only by facing danger can his manhood be tempered. So it is with the young Japanese Church. It goes out to freedom, possibly to times of mistake and of danger. But the very risks it may have to face will make it strong.

CHAPTER XXIII

ENGLAND'S OPPORTUNITY

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THE world change that has proceeded since the February night when the Japanese torpedo boats made their dash for the Russian fleet in Port Arthur harbour has been charged with greater results for humanity as a whole than any series of developments for many centuries. Events have followed one another so thickly—now silently and almost unobserved, now with startling and dramatic swiftness—that we are only beginning to realise something of their real significance. Russia has been forced to retire from Manchuria, and Japan has stepped into her admitted place as a premier world Power. Since the conclusion of peace the Japanese have shown that they can carry into commerce the same activity, the same far-sighted organisation, and the same power for detail work that they revealed in war. They have given the world some knowledge of their imperial ambitions and their world-wide designs. They have become active and aggressive colonisers. They have enormously increased their territory, in effect if not in name. They have, by their example, aroused their potentially greater neighbour, China, to new life. They have launched a movement, "Asia for the Asiatics," and their pioneers are teaching alike to Indian youth, Siamese princeling, and Chinese official that the day of world-domination

by the white man is over. Are we willing to accept this racial retrogression? If not, what is to be our policy in the Far East?

The vital issue here is our attitude towards China, even more than our attitude towards Japan. China to-day needs a friend among the Great Powers. That friend should be England. The statesmen who rule in Peking distrust both Russia and Japan, believing that these nations have designs against their territory; and they hate Germany on account of her seizure of Kiao-chau and her conduct in the Shantung province. They recognise that America has been more disinterested than other Governments, but they have a grudge against her because of the indignities inflicted upon Chinese subjects in California and elsewhere. They know that they cannot yet stand alone, and some years ago they hoped that England would see that their land had justice among the nations. The weakness of our policy in the Far East during the past decade has greatly shaken their confidence in us; but it is not yet too late for confidence to be restored, and for us to secure China's lasting goodwill, gratitude, and friendship. Only, to do that we must be prepared to take up a definite attitude, to stick to it, and, if necessary, to fight for it.

In acting as the protector of China, we should not stand alone. Events during the past few months have convinced America that if she is to retain her position on the Pacific she must be moving. It needs no prophetic vision to see that within the next few years the American fleet around the Yellow Sea will be enormously increased. Japan never made a greater mistake than when her representative and part of her

press used threatening language towards the Federal Government at Washington, and the mistake was none the less because for the moment Japan was in a position to enforce her threat. English and American interests in the Far East are identical.

The first step for us, if we desire to retain our predominance on the Pacific, should be to retract the blunder of 1905, when we decided to withdraw our big fighting ships from the China seas. If we are to be respected we must give evidence of our power. The Oriental believes in what he sees. It is useless for us to have a strong policy without the weight of a strong fleet behind it. We need a real fighting squadron in Eastern waters again.

Then we must take active steps to guard both our own and China's rights and interests in Manchuria and our interests in Korea. In the latter country it would be well worth our while to insist upon the retention of a proportion of British officials in the Customs Service. Friendly representations to Japan would go a long way towards restoring actual as well as nominal control of Manchuria to China. We need at least four Consuls in Manchuria, besides our present Consul at Newchwang. These should be stationed at Dalny, Moukden, Kirin, and Harbin. It is not necessary to have a Consul at Antung, as that place is not as yet of sufficient importance. America is hurrying forward her Consuls. One settled in Dalny in September, and another, Mr. Willard Straight, took up his position as Consul-General at Moukden in October. If our new Consuls are the right type of men—as most of our China Consuls are—and if they have the Foreign Office actively behind them, they can do invaluable

service in safeguarding our commercial interests in Manchuria.

I have never concealed my conviction that certain stages of the new movement in China will probably produce serious internal trouble, in which foreigners may suffer severely. One Power, at least, hopes to use such disturbances as pretext for intervention, with the ultimate object of acquiring Chinese territory. For us to permit this will be folly. From the point of view of selfish interest alone, the integrity and genuine independence of the Chinese Empire are worth our fighting for, if they can be maintained in no other way than by fighting.

We might greatly help forward the educational movement in China. There are now about twelve thousand Chinese students in Japan, and the Japanese Government and educational institutions are doing everything possible to attract them. No money could be better invested than that spent in inducing some of the best of the Chinese students to come to England. The cost of the journey to England and of living here is so high meantime that none but a few can afford it. A little encouragement would add to these numbers. Far-sighted diplomacy might even consider it wise to maintain a well-equipped and very cheap university at Singapore for Chinese, with English professors. The foreign-trained students are the future rulers of China. It would be to our interest and to their advantage that they should be taught under Western influences.

What are we going to do about the opium question? Let me here say that I am not an anti-opium fanatic. I fully recognise that in certain parts of India the

effects of opium are no more harmful than the effects of alcohol at home. I believe that the anti-opium campaign has been injured by the intemperance and bitter language of some of its advocates. Still the fact remains that in China—unlike India—the smoking of opium is a fearful national curse. It destroys character, it saps energy, and it perverts morals. If the official smokes opium, the district under him goes to ruin ; if the servant smokes, dishonesty and laziness follow ; if the father smokes, the household is often wrecked. The Chinese authorities have set themselves no harder task than to remove this curse. They will be hampered by the clamorous appetites of their own people, and they will be weakened by their desire for revenue. It is not enough here for us to express pious sympathy and to say that we are willing to co-operate if we are satisfied of China's sincerity. It is for us by our national policy to strengthen the hands of the anti-opium officials.

When England took Wei-hai-wei she departed from her traditional policy. The occupation of this port is now an admitted blunder. It is of no use to us, and can be of no use. It is worthless as a naval base or as a military station. Why should we retain it ? No step could do more to convince China of the sincerity of our good intentions towards her, and no step could be more grateful to China's reviving national pride, than for us to give it back. The British who have gathered around that place would, of course, have to be adequately compensated, but that would present no serious difficulty.

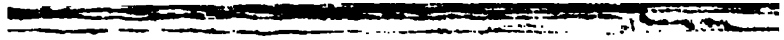
The task of helping China in her march towards modern civilisation should naturally fall to England

and America. Alone among the world nations, we to-day desire no further territorial gains. It is to our interest to have a China aroused, provided we also have a China enlightened and a China free. New China is in the making. Let us do our part towards moulding her into a progressive Power, permeated with those ideals of personal freedom, respect towards women, and peace among men for which we have struggled and striven so hardly and so long. The arousing of the East should crown the triumph of the moral ideals of the West.

Why, it may be asked, should we concern ourselves about this distant land? Those who speak thus have faint idea of the duties of Empire. We are still the premier world nation; we have still the greatest commercial stake in the Far East; we still maintain fleets before which the oldest and the youngest of other great naval Powers must give way. We have the trade and the prestige, and we can enforce our will. If we only throw off the indecision and the inaction which have been our curse in China for a generation, the prestige and commerce of Britain around the Yellow Sea may have a greater and more glorious future than ever our fathers dreamed. We go to China to-day not as an intriguer, and not as a would-be conqueror, but as a friend.

APPENDIX

THE KOREAN CASE AGAINST JAPAN



APPENDIX

THE KOREAN CASE AGAINST JAPAN

I

A Korean Foreign Office Statement

TWO petitions were drawn up by the Korean Foreign Office early in the autumn of 1903 for presentation to President Roosevelt. The text of the second of these has fallen into my hands. I understand that this second petition was not actually despatched, as the Japanese acquired control of the Government immediately after it was signed.

The petition begins by reminding the American Government that under the Treaty of 1883, between America and Korea, there was a clause providing that, "If other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their good feelings."

The memorial then continues: "Our Government at the present time feels forced to inform your Government that we are being dealt with 'unjustly and oppressively' by the Government and people of Japan and to appeal to the President of the United

States of America and your Government to, in accordance with the above quoted article of the treaty, use your good offices in bringing about an amicable and just settlement.

"The actions of the Japanese Government and people that we complain of and to which we desire to call your attention are well known and can be more than substantiated, and may be called in part as follows:

"*First*:—IN POLITICS. They have chosen out four or five of the worst officials, those who have previously disturbed the Government, and without regard to life and property have extorted from the people and have put them in power and, having placed their own nationals as advisers in almost all the departments, they are controlling the Government and oppressing the Emperor and his officials.

"*Second*:—IN THE DISPENSING OF JUSTICE. They have by force interfered with the Korean officers of justice so that they could not carry on their regular work; they have been seizing the police power both at the capital and in the provincial towns and trying both civil and criminal cases; but if a Japanese subject has been doing injustice to a Korean, they not only do not stop him, but secretly encourage him to the detriment of Korean life and property.

"*Third*:—IN THE MATTER OF FINANCES. At the time of the attempt to reform the money system of Korea, some thirty or more Koreans willingly offered a loan of three million yen to their Government to be used in this attempt at reform, but the Japanese Minister to Korea prevented the acceptance and

forced the Korean Government to accept a loan of three million yen from the Japanese Government.

"Still later, announcing that the currency of the country must again be changed, they presented a new coinage which was not any better than the old, and thus their profits were very great, and when they came to exchange the new for the old they always claimed a shortage of two or three per cent., and not only made the people thus suffer great loss, but thus made it so that they could not exchange their money; the trickery of which scheme is shown in the fact that if the exchange is not made by the end of next year the old money will be demonetised and the whole country's financial resources will be exhausted.

"Still further, by forcing the authorisation of the use of the notes of the Japanese Dai Ichi Bank, in place of money (although the bank has but a small reserve fund), they have illegally gained great profit.

"They have also arranged it so that Japanese are to collect the taxes of the country, and deposit the same in the said Dai Ichi Bank, and thus they have placed the entire wealth of Korea in the hands of this one irresponsible private bank.

"*Fourth*:—IN MATTERS MILITARY. At the opening of the Japan-Russia war, Japan forced Korea to make a treaty whereby Japan was allowed freely to transport her troops and munitions of war through Korea to the seat of the war; and in return for this they are about to quarter tens of thousands of their troops in different parts of Korea, and have forced the Korean Government and people to surrender

thousands of acres of land on which to quarter these troops in Seoul, Pyeng Yang, and other places, for which land the Government and people are receiving no recompense. In the name of the military authorities of Japan large tracts of land have also been staked out on which in some cases Japanese merchants are building houses, and when the real owners apply for help or recompense they get no redress.

"The Japanese asserted that temporary military necessities forced them to seize and undertake railroads, and now although peace has been declared they still continue to hold and work them without receiving or seeking any concession from the Korean Government; and for the property and houses of the people condemned for the road they did not give the worth, but are paying one per cent. of the value or give them nothing at all. Not only have they thus seized all the land needed for the immediate road-bed, but at all points where they have decided to have stations they have seized and enclosed large tracts of land on all sides of these stations without recompense to the owners.

"In sections of land of great importance from a commercial point of view, large tracts of land and thousands of houses have been staked off with the Japanese military stakes, as needed for military purposes and not to be sold, thus preventing all land exchanges and sales in these sections and causing great loss and distress to the Koreans and possible great profit to the Japanese.

"On the plea of 'Martial Law' they have on several occasions arrested Koreans who unintentionally touched telegraph posts or walked along the railroad, even

though they were aged people and children, and, alleging that they were planning to destroy the military railroad or telegraphs, they have had them shot.

"They have dug up the graves along the railroad, and ruthlessly piling the bones in heaps, have burned them, and have thus aroused the ire and hatred of the Koreans.

"When they had in the suburbs of Seoul forcibly set stakes preparatory to taking possession of land and houses, several thousands of the Korean citizens residing in this section, in accordance with Korean custom, presented themselves quietly and peaceably at the Home Department. The Minister of Home Affairs at this time was a member of the ultra Pro-Japanese Party, and, frightened, fled and escaped over the back wall. Japanese soldiers, with drawn swords, drove away the petitioners and many of the people were wounded.

"His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, from deposits to his private account in the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha and Dai Ichi Bank in Seoul, ordered that three hundred thousand yen be given to ameliorate the sad condition of merchants and others at the time of the exchange of currency; but the said Company and Bank, asserting that it was per order of the Army (Japanese) Headquarters, said that without the permission of Mr. Megata, Adviser (Japanese) of the Treasury Department, they could not give it, and they have not yet done so. This certainly was high-handed and contrary to all law and equity.

"Although during the past ten years there have been no disturbances in Korea, and the Korean Military

and Police have easily been able to maintain order throughout the whole empire, during the war, as a 'Military Necessity,' Japan seized the control in these departments, and now, despite the fact that the war is at an end, continues to maintain her hold upon the same.

"*Fifth*:—IN COMMERCIAL LINES. When the Koreans were with credit carrying on the Telegraphic and Postal Departments of the Bureau of Communications, the Japanese forced them to give over both departments and do not now run them as well as formerly.

"They have forced concessions to be granted of all our fisheries and transportations by boat in internal waters.

"They have without agreement or permission seized the department for the promotion of the silk industry.

"They have by force torn down the east and south gates in the city wall at Pyeng Yang, and without compensation condemned and forcibly torn down the people's houses for the laying of an electric railway.

"Scheming for commercial advantages, they have brought about forced sales of land and houses in the interior.

"In direct contravention of the fifth article of the First Protocol, which was signed last year, between Korea and Japan, Japan made a treaty of alliance with England, the third article of which works to the detriment of and seriously endangers that independence of the said First Protocol with Japan, but which Japan has declared many times to the world that she will uphold even though it should entail war.

"In regard to the third article of the Anglo-Japan

Treaty of Alliance, the Korean Foreign Office sent a formal protest to the Legations of the two countries in Seoul asserting that our Government refused to acknowledge the validity of the same. The Korean Foreign Office directly asked the British Minister in Seoul to telegraph to his Government asking the cancelling of the third article.

"How could any one blame our country for this action in the defence of our independence, yet the Japanese, without reason, are constantly finding fault with this action.

"In addition to the above it is impossible to relate all the numerous ways in which the Japanese have been and are trying to take away the independence of Korea, and to cut her off from the friendship of Europe and America.

"We have thus gone into a few of the details that show the 'unjust and oppressive way' in which the Government and people of Japan have been treating our Government and people, not only because we believe that, as your Government has always done, she will keep to her treaty, but also because we feel assured that in the interests of equity and justice she will use her good offices at the present time on our behalf.

"At the time of the Japan-China War we were forced to apply to your Government; and the prompt and decisive action of your Government, as voiced in Secretary Gresham's despatch, averted the trouble at that time. We regret exceedingly to again be requesting similar services, but the 'oppression and injustice' under which we now suffer is much more severe than at that time."

II

The Open Letter of Choi Ik Hyon

The following open letter was sent by Choi Ik Hyon, an old Korean courtier, on June 3, 1906, to the Resident-General and the Japanese Cabinet. Choi Ik Hyon was arrested and exiled for his temerity.

"Listen! Listen! It is said that loyalty to one's native land and love for one's fellow countrymen are natural, and that to keep faith and deal uprightly is virtuous. I declare that the man who is not loyal should perish, and that the country without this virtue should be destroyed. This is not merely the idea of a stubborn old man. The history of the world demonstrates that all the great nations of to-day would not stand where they do had their people not been loyal and patriotic.

"When Kuroda, your Ambassador, came to Korea thirty years ago to negotiate a commercial treaty, I alone objected to it, and presented a memorial to our Emperor against it. At the best of times it requires the nicest diplomacy to induce friendship between neighbouring countries, and in this case I alone knew how unreliable and vacillating your country is, therefore I was most anxious to make myself heard.

"The world has greatly changed now from what it was in ancient times. And it would be impossible to attempt to stem the tide and prevent the spread of Western influence to-day. Therefore, in order to preserve Orientalism it is essential that the three countries, Korea, Japan, and China, should be in

accord and work in harmony together, as our lips and teeth do. This I most earnestly desire, although I feel that your country's representatives are not to be relied upon. Still I do not wish to insist upon this so strongly as to disturb the harmonious relations hitherto existing between the two countries.

"It is now twenty years since I retired into the country from active service, and I have not since then taken any open part in criticising your actions, but now I feel impelled to come forward, for I see only too plainly that your country is now acting neither faithfully nor uprightly. Moreover, I see that your country will surely perish in the end, even though she looms strong and large now. Your unrighteous breaking of promises is continually causing mischief in the Orient.

"If you will pardon me I will firstly point out where you have done wrong, and how you have broken faith and deviated from uprightness.

"I respectfully submit that in the agreement made between General Shin Ken and In Ji-Sho of Chosen (Korea) and Kuroda and Inouye, the Ambassadors of your country at Kokwa thirty years ago, the first article says that Korea is an independent country claiming equal rights with Japan, and desiring to be treated on an equality, while at the same time wishing to maintain friendship. Each is to avoid giving offence or trespassing on the rights of the other. In order to cement this friendship, and make it everlasting, all the regulations that hitherto existed as a bar to intercourse were abolished. The twelfth article expressly decreed that this agreement cannot be altered by either of the Governments, but is to be observed

faithfully and invariably by both nations in perpetuity.

"Also in the agreement made between Li Hung Chang, the Chinese Plenipotentiary, and Marquis Ito, the Plenipotentiary of your country, at Bakan, twelve years ago, the first article says that both countries recognise the independence of Korea and pledge themselves not to invade it.

"In declaring war against Russia three years ago, Japan expressly announced her intention to maintain peace in Korea and China. In justifying your position against Russia at the outset of the war, your country made international statements that the object of hostilities was to maintain the independence and the territorial integrity of Korea.

"Has not the Emperor of your country taken an oath before the whole world not to invade our territory, but to respect the independence and freedom of our people? Do not all the Powers of the world expect that two countries like Korea and Japan, being each dependent upon the other, like the lips and the teeth, should respect one another's rights and not attempt any invasion of each other's country?

"In spite of all this, your country is now behaving immorally and cruelly to ours, day after day. It has broken faith with us. The old treaty which proclaimed Korea's independence and equality with Japan is no longer true, for we have become slaves. The war with Russia, nominally started to preserve Korea's independence and territorial rights, has now given you the power to invade our country. All our people, in number 20,000,000, hate your people and will not even sit facing the east.

"It was also agreed that this treaty was not to be altered, but was to be kept for everlasting, in order to keep perpetual peace between us. Yet the treaty has been altered, and peace has been broken between us. Heaven has been cheated, the gods have been deceived, and all the Powers of the world have been flouted!

"I can bear witness that twenty-three years ago Takesoe, the Japanese Minister to Korea, raised a revolt, possessed himself of our Emperor's person and took him away, and killed our Ministers. This was the first crime by which you broke faith with us and behaved unrighteously.

"Thirteen years ago, Otori, the Japanese Minister, revolted, invaded our Imperial Palace, and destroyed our national institutions, under the pretence of establishing the independence of Korea, but in reality indicating the future plan of his country to invade us and deprive us of our rights. This is the second crime by which you broke faith with us.

"Again, twelve years ago Miura, the Japanese Minister, rebelled and killed our Queen. That was the greatest rebellion that had ever occurred in all the ages. But the identity of the conspirators was so well hidden that they all escaped. This is the third crime, one of great tyranny and cruelty.

"Since Hayashi and Hasegawa arrived in Korea, the menaces and deprivations of our rights have been beyond all measure. The most serious matter is the construction of the railways at various places. The Seoul-Wi-ju railway was planned and constructed without our consent. We have been robbed of the

chief sources of national wealth, the profits of fishing and ginseng, mining rights, navigation, etc., and nothing is left to us. This is the fourth crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"Under the excuse of military necessity you have forcibly occupied our land and invaded our homes, dug up the graves of our ancestors, and destroyed innumerable houses. Professing to advise us and advance our good, you have forced us to put into office mean and dissolute men, corrupt bribe-takers, and the issuers of false accounts. This is the fifth crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"Even though the war is ended you do not give us back the railways; you still occupy the line and still maintain martial law. This is the sixth crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"You have induced Yi Chi Yong, a traitor, to enter into the Korean-Japanese agreements, destroying our national rights and ignoring the independence of Korea and the maintenance of her territorial integrity. This is the seventh crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"Our officials and scholars offered memorials to our Emperor; immediately afterwards you arrested all the memorialists and imprisoned them for a long time. The lives of these people have been in jeopardy, but you would not release them because you wish to suppress any signs of patriotism on the part of the people, and you wish to influence public opinion in your own favour as against us. This is the eighth crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"You have taken dissolute men like the robbers

and tonghaks (they take a new name, the Il-chin-hoi), and profess to regard them as guides and leaders, and have instigated them to produce a manifesto, which you immediately propagated, declaring that it showed public opinion was on your side. But the associations of scholars, the Poanhoi and Yu Yakso, who really represent the people and have the welfare of the nation at heart, you arrested and imprisoned, declaring that they were plotting against the public peace. This is the ninth crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"You forcibly collect coolies together and drive them like cattle, and if they resent this treatment you kill them suddenly and as lightly as a man cuts down the grass or the bushes. You will sell our people secretly to Mexicans, making it impossible for their fathers and brothers and sons to avenge or get them back, even if they are likely to die. This is the tenth crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"Again, you have forcibly taken possession of the Post and Telegraph Offices, securing hold of the lines of communication. This is the eleventh crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"You appoint your own advisers to all the State departments—men who are getting good salaries without working. You are diminishing enlistment in the military police. You usurp control of the financial affairs, and in consequence will entirely destroy us. This is the twelfth crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"Professing to adjust our financial relations, you have compelled us to raise loans, only increasing the

weight of our trouble. You have made a new coinage, but the colour and material and weight are not in any way different from the old coinage. Thus you are getting the profit for yourselves, at the same time increasing the financial burden of our country. You forcibly insist on making paper money legal tender. It was not current before. It is clear that you wish to suck us dry of all we have and then throw us aside as empty shells. This is the thirteenth crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"On the night of November 17, last year, Ito and Hasegawa entered the Imperial Palace, surrounded it with soldiers, and compelled our Government to make a new treaty. Our Government at first demurred, neither assenting nor declining. In the end you had to steal the Emperor's seal and sign the treaty surreptitiously. By this you have taken our diplomatic affairs and controlled them from Japan, and control us from your Resident-General in Korea. Thus our independent rights were lost in one morning. But the news was kept secret by threats, and dust was thrown in the eyes of all the Powers. This is the fourteenth crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"At first you said that you would merely superintend our diplomatic affairs, but in the end you entirely control the administration of the whole country. Large numbers of subordinate officials are appointed by the Residency-General, and every one is so frightened that the people dare not move or make any sign. This is the fifteenth crime by which you have broken faith with us.

"Lately you have endeavoured to force new emigra-

tion regulations on us by which you hope to carry out your poisonous plan of clearing our people out of the country and changing the race. This is the sixteenth crime by which you have broken faith with us. And this last is surely the greatest crime in the world. Alas! alas! these are not all, but only the most prominent. Your country has entirely broken faith and behaved unrighteously. Your promises are borne witness to by the agreements made at Kokwa and Bakan, and in the statements made to all the Powers at the outbreak of the war. How is it that these have not been kept, but that your words are full of hesitation, cheating, cunning, and falsehood? Had you dealt fairly by us, the hearts of twenty million people would not be full of hate for your country. Had you kept your word, we would believe that you were maintaining and strengthening our country for us. Then our people would take an oath to seek and re-establish peace.

Your country has always borne malice against us because His Majesty our Emperor, moved to the Russian Legation [N.B.—this of course refers to the escape of the Emperor in February, 1896, after the murder of the Queen by the Japanese]; but why did he go there? He did not wish to risk being betrayed again. Surrounded by traitors, he could do nothing. He could not trust your country, but was alarmed and frightened day and night, and could not stop in his Palace since the wicked murder of the Queen there. He had to go to the Russians because of the crime of your country. It left nothing but hate in your hearts for us.

"Notwithstanding this, the conditions in the East

were such at the time when war broke out between you and Russia that our people were prepared to receive your army without fear. But since your army has been victorious it has come back and has acted wickedly and cruelly to our people.

"Even had Russia been the conqueror, would our country's misfortunes have been greater than they are to-day?

"All our people now expect that they will be killed. They feel as if death had already come to them. But may be they will not perish after all, although they would rather die than have to surrender and break their hearts when threatened by tyrants."

After reference to a famous scholar, the memorial goes on:

"The people of our country, a land of three thousand li in length, are the descendants of the wise king and sages who for four thousand years obeyed and learnt politeness and righteousness. Are these the people who delight in becoming the slaves of an enemy? Do you think that people such as these desire to beg for one day's life?

"All the world knows that Russia will not forget her defeat and will sooner or later again attack the East. Should that happen, I doubt if the lands of the East can stand, even if they are all allied, supporting and relying upon one another. How much less chance will they have when instead of living in friendship they are hating each other and are mutually jealous as enemies in the same house! No European Power would support your country. They have no mind to love others, they would leave you alone. Then destruction would follow, not for you alone, but for

the whole East. And the crime of causing that destruction would have been wrought by you. Even though your country is strong, she would perish. Surely it is better for you to reform your ways immediately and again practise original virtue. To keep faith, and to cleave unto righteousness, how good it is! I trust that my humble letter will immediately reach your Emperor and that you will wholly repent the sixteen crimes I have mentioned. I hope that you will recall the Resident-General, the advisers and the Commanders-in-chief of the army. I hope that you will appoint a faithful and loyal man as your Minister. Also that you will apologise to all Powers for having encroached upon the independence and rights of our country. And then, and then only, can you expect your nation and ours to be actually and truly at enduring peace with each other; then the happiness and entire peace will come to you and the greatness of the East will be maintained.

"If you do not do this, how can your country avoid destruction? How can it stand alone even if in the future the calamities I have forecast should be avoided? Your present developments are like those of Minwang of Cleh Kingdom, and Yenkoung of Song Kingdom, two thousand years ago. Nothing is more sure than that blessing follows in the wake of righteousness, while calamity haunts the steps of the evildoer. These are the ways of Providence. Even if I am wrong about the state of affairs, I am full of loyalty to my country, and I love my own people, and I keep faith and cleave unto righteousness. I have long regretted that I did not die when I could have wished to do so. Seeing with my own eyes the terrible state of the land and

the extremity of the people, I would have wished to die at the hour of our disgrace. . . . This is not only a suggestion for our country, but also for yours ; and again, not only for your country, but for the whole of the East."

INDEX

Allen, Dr., American Minister to Korea, 154–5
AMERICA
  and Chinese trade, 273, 276
  ,, the Far Eastern Question, 318–19
  ,, Korea, 45–47, 154–5
  ,, Manchurian trade, 276–7, 319
  ,, Pacific shipping, 21–2
  ,, Tobacco Co., see British American Tobacco Co.
Anderson, Mr. G., of Amoy, on Japanese shipping competition in South China, 28–30
Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 7
Antung, 77–83, 158–9
Australasia and the Asiatic emigrant, 167, 174–7
  Professor Ishikawa on, 175
  The Sydney Bulletin on, 176
  Sir Joseph Ward on, 177
  Mr. J. C. Watson on, 176

Beri-beri in the Japanese Army, 106–7
Bishop, Mrs., on the murder of the Korean Queen, 35
Boxer Movement, 184
  in Manchuria, 89, 290–2
  in Peking, 235–7
  Viceroy Yuan and, 202, 216
British American Tobacco Co., 135, 138, 158
British Columbia, see Emigration
Brown, Sir J. McLeavy
  his control of Korean Customs, 37, 38
  his resignation, 55, 155
Buddhism, revival of, 308

California, see Emigration
Canada, see Emigration
Chang Chien, a progressive Chinese merchant, 278–80
Chang Chih Tung, Viceroy
  his army, 223, 229
  his reforms, 279
Chang-Chung-fu, 116
CHINA
  Anti-foreign movement, 259–69, 282–3
  army, 185, 200, 211–31
  Board of War, 213, 225, 227
  Boxer Movement, 89, 184, 202, 216, 235–7, 241, 290–2
  boycott literature, 139
  commerce, 273–84
  Customs Service, 260–3
  Dowager Empress of, see Tzu-hi
  Education: abolition of classical examinations, 183, 187–8
    military schools, 222–3
    possible English assistance, 320
    students in Japan, 188–9
    Viceroy Yuan's schools, 204
  emigration, see Emigration
  Emperor of, see Kwang-sü
  foot-binding, 251–2

CHINA (*cont.*)
foreign trade 273–84
home life, 250–6
Japanese in, 88, 138, 149, 267–9
journalism, 186–7, 263–6
navy, 231
patriotic fund, 262–3
proposed Parliament, 240
reaction in, 192, 238–41
reform movement, 86–89, 181–92, 238–41
revolutionary party, 242
women of, 185–6, 250–6
Choi Ik Hyon, open letter of, 332–42

Dalny, see Tairen
Deakin, Mr., and Australian defence, 176

Emigration, Asiatic, 165–77
to Australasia, 167, 175–7
,, British Columbia, 168–71
,, California, 165–6
,, Hawaii, 171–3
,, Korea, see Korea
,, Manchuria, see Manchuria
Japanese, 10–13, 165–77
ENGLAND
action over Korean Customs, 155, 319
Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 7
Consuls, 319
Foreign Office and the "Open Door," 160–1
her opportunity, 206, 317–22
reduction of North Pacific Fleet, 15, 319
trade in the Far East, 273–84
treaty with Korea, 34

Fukuin Shimpo on foreign missionaries, 311–12
Fukushima, General, on the Chinese Army, 223

German trade in China, 274–5
Greenwood, Mr. F., on Asian alliances, 15–16

Hagiwara, Mr., 48, 50, 88–9, 335
Harada, Mr. Tasuku, on the independence of India, 23
Harbin, 116–17
Harriman, Mr., and the Pacific Mail Line, 21–2
Hart, Sir Robert, 38, 260–1
Hasegawa, General, 50, 51, 338
Hawaii, Japanese or Chinese in, 171–3
Hayashi, Mr., 39, 45, 48, 50, 88, 33
Hayashi, Viscount, on the Californian question, 165–6
Hearn, Lacfadio, 124, 168
Hill, Mr. J. J., his Pacific steamer, 21
his plans for American-Asia trade, 276
Hulbert, Mr. H. B., 46, 47
Hung-hutzes (bandits), 96–110, 113–14

India and Japan, 6–7, 23–5
Ishikawa, Professor, on Australian immigration laws, 175
Ito, the Marquis
secures new Korean treaty, 45–52, 338
becomes first President-General of Korea, 55
statement to Mr. McKenzie, on Korean Customs, 157

JAPAN
army, 13–16
and the Chinese Army, 229–3
,, Chinese trade, 277
,, Chinese students, 188–9
,, Korea, 33–98, 174
child labour, 147–9
commercial policy, 3, 121–62
in Korea, 153–8
see also "Open Door"
cotton trade, 123, 143–50, 1
emigration, 11, 165–177
expansion of, 1894—1907, t
maps, 4–5

JAPAN (*cont.*)
foreign capital in, 126–7
foreign policy, 3–16
in Manchuria, 77–115, 150, 173
increased cost of living, 125
Japanese anti-foreign literature in China, 139–40
Morals, 93–4, 124, 172–3, 245–8, 280–2
national expenditure, 125
navy, 14–15
Portsmouth Treaty, 3, 104–9
population, 10
poverty in, 10
shipping and shipbuilding, 19–30, 123–4, 230–1
Shipping Subsidies Bill (1907), 27
tobacco monopoly, 133–40
wages in, 125, 128
why Japan made peace, 105–9
women, 245–8
Japan Times
Hindoo student's statement in, 24–5
pleads for increased armaments, 109
Japan Weekly Mail
on anti-British agitation, 24
on Korean policy, 56–7
on foreign missionaries, 312–13
Jardine, Matheson & Co., Messrs., 25, 27, 276

Kaneko, Baron, on mixed Japanese marriages, 12–13
Kang-Yu-Wei, 183–5
KOREA
appeals to America, 46–7
army, 41
Choi Ik Hyon on Japanese methods in, 332, 42
currency, 64
Emperor, 38, 48–53, 55–7, 339
foreign trade in, 153–8
Japanese oppression in, 61, 65–73, 157, 173–4, 325–42
KOREA (*cont.*)
Japanese policy in, 33–98, 153–8, 174
mining in, 156–7
missionary movement in, 292–5
murder of Queen, 35–6
Nagamori scheme, 42, 45
petition to President Roosevelt, 325–31
prisons, 72–3
proposed transference to Japanese Customs Union, 157–8
reforms, 38, 41, 62–65, 249
surrender of independence, 47–53
treaties with Japan, 34, 40, 48, 57
Viceroy Yuan in, 199–200
women of, 248–50
Korea Review quoted, 53–4
Kwang-sü, Emperor of China, 182, 201, 238

Laurier, Sir W., on Canadian-Japanese relations, 168
Lee, Rev. Graham, 293
Liang, Mr. M. T., 87

Maine, Sir Henry, on Asian alliances, 15–16
MANCHURIA
differential railway rates, 161
foreign trade in, 158
Hung-hutzes, 95–8
Japanese in, 3–6, 77–115, 150, 173–4, 268–9
Japanese cotton goods in, 149–50
Japanese oppression, 79, 93–5, 173–4
railways, 77, 83, 86, 104
Marconi system in China, 197, 238
Min Yong Whan, suicide of, 53–4
Missions in the Far East, 287–314
in Japan, 307–14
in Korea, 292–5
in Moukden, 89–90, 290–2

Missions in Peking, 238
in South China, 313–14
Catholic and Protestant methods, 295–7
native control of, 309–14
Tuan-fang, Viceroy of Hunan, on, 287
Viceroy Yuan on, 302
Moffett, Dr. S., 293
Moukden, 85–90, 189

Newchwang, 6, 158, 161, 269
New Zealand and Asiatics, 177
North China Daily News on Japanese ambitions, 7

Okuma, Count, on Japanese speculation, 127
on Christian missions in Japan, 308
"Open Door," 6, 153–62
in Manchuria, 79–81
Opium in Korea, 72
in China, 320–1

Paotingfu, 197, 217–23
Peking, 190–1, 197, 235–42
Ping-Yang, Korea, 33, 53
prison, 72–3
missionaries at, 293
"Plea for Patriotism, A," 187
Port Arthur, 101–3
Pustau, Captain von, 113

Railways:
Antung-Moukden, 77, 78, 83, 84
in China, 190, 242, 282–3
in Korea, 63, 64, 335
railway map of China,
South Manchurian, 86, 104, 110, 161
trans-Siberian, 34, 116, 190–1
Review of Reviews (Australasian), quoted, 175
Roosevelt, President
and Korea, 47
and Dr. Allen, 154–5
Roosevelt, President (*cont.*)
petition to, from Korean Foreign Office, 325–31
Russia
and China, 196, 198
bribery among officials, 118
Chinese distrust of, 318
foreign policy in the Far East, 6
in Korea, 34–9
in Manchuria, 89, 101–118
position at close of war, 107–9
Russo-Japanese War:
effect on China, 184
why peace was made, 105–9

Shanghai, 273
Shipping and ship-building
Japanese plans, 19–30, 123–4
at Shanghai, 273
on the Yangtsze, 25–28, 279
Sun-chon, Korea,
torture in, 72–3
missions at, 293–5
Sydney Bulletin quoted, 176

Tairen, 6, 103, 160–1
Tang-Shao-Yi, 259–62
Tieh Liang, 259, 262
Tientsin, 197–99, 203–5
model prison in, 204–5
Viceroy Yuan's palace in, 195–7
Torture in China, 204
in Korea, 72–3
in Manchuria, 94–5
Treaties and protocols
how the 1905 Korean-Japanese treaty was secured, 45–54
Korean-American treaty, 46–7
Korean-Japanese treaties, 34, 40, 48, 57
text of protocol between Korea and Japan, Feb. 1904, 57–8
Treaty of Portsmouth, 3, 104–9
Turley, Mr., of Moukden, 85, 290

Tzu-hi, Dowager Empress of China,
history and character, 183–5
overthrows the Emperor, 201–2
goodwill to Viceroy Yuan, 206, 239
in the Forbidden City, 238

Ward, Sir J., on the "Yellow Peril," 177
Watson, Mr. J. C., on Australia and the Asian races, 176
Wei-hai-wei, 321
Westwater, Dr., 247
Wiju and Sin-Wiju, 77, 156
Wright, Mr. C. D., on the Japanese and Chinese in Hawaii, 172–3

Yalu River and timber rights, 80-1
Yangtsze trade, 26–8, 278–9
"Yellow Peril, The," 191
Sir J. Ward on, 177
Mr. F. Greenwood and Sir Henry Maine on, 15–16
in Australasia, 167, 174–7
and Chinese Army, 223–4
Yuan Shih-kai, Viceroy of Chih-li
story of his life, 195–207
in Korea, 199–200
lectures on constitutionalism, 189
and the new Chinese army, 202–3, 212–17, 225–30
his relations with the Dowager Empress, 206, 239

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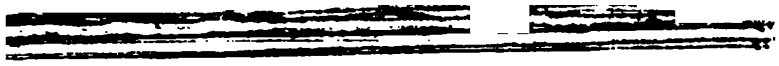

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